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See page 65. for Christ being a gentleman

aP

London 1810

LITERARY RESEARCHES

INTO THE

HISTORY OF

THE

BOOK OF SAINT ALBANS.

THE

BOOK

containing the Treatises of

Hawking; Hunting; Coat-Armour; Fishing;

and

Blasing of Arms.

As printed at Westminster,

by

Wynkyn de Worde;

the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord

MCCCClxxxxvi.

London:

Re-printed by Harding and Wright, St. John's-Square,

for

White and Cochrane, Fleet-Street, and R. Triphook,
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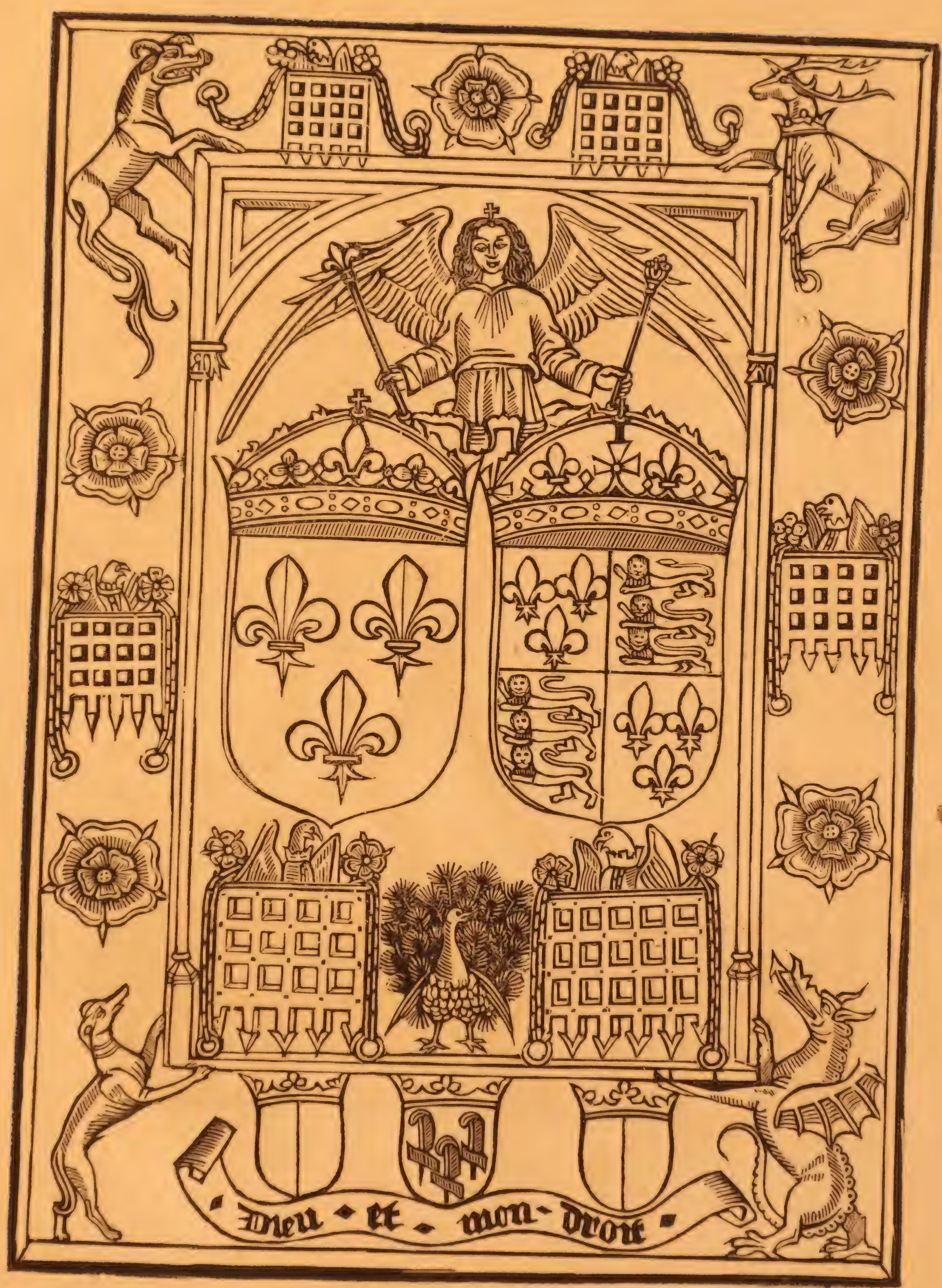

Dieu et mon droit

ABC

Biographical and Bibliographical Notices.

INTRODUCTION.

TIME is at length advancing to an honourable and just distinction many early productions of the English press. Yet, though the ardour for bibliographical rarities should grow still keener of pursuit, no expectation can be well indulged, that the possession of any large portion of works in the black letter will be found an object of easy attainment. During the age of neglect, their destruction was almost equal to that excited by the warfare of Vandalism, where the gigantic strides of gothic violence are marked by the scattered fragments that remain behind. He whose ancestor

——————" Pored
Upon a huge romantic tome,
In the hall-window of his home,
Imprinted at the antique dome
Of Caxton or De Worde ;" *

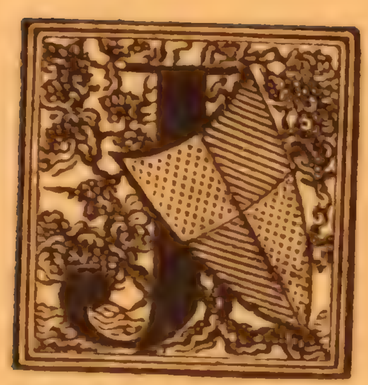
must now probably be content to consider a few pages as a valuable relique, even though discoloured by mildew, mutilated by casualty, or perforated by worms. Should a vigilant spirit of inquiry prompt the antiquarian student to seek possession of an *entire* work, he must often have recourse to its more humble substitute—a reprint. Such desirable auxiliaries are now rapidly augmenting ; but in the *present* will be found the earliest publication in which the original costume of the press is preserved, and the text retained in the manner of fac-simile.

Before a volume assuming such a character, I had at first concluded it would be superfluous to place any prefixture. Whether that opinion was well founded it is unnecessary here to discuss, since it has been waved at the instance of a literary friend, strengthened by the wishes of several subscribers, who urged the utility and expe-

* *Marmion*, by Walter Scott. Canto iv. st. iiij.

diency of communicating some particulars of the reputed compilers of this volume, as well as of its various editions. Hence the following miscellaneous matter, which, from the pressure of other avocations, has been rather hastily collected, is submitted with much deference to the candid reader, under the two divisions of Biographical and Bibliographical Notices.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.



ULYANS, or Juliana, Barnes, otherwise Berners, who has been generally designated as the authoress of the present volume, is supposed to have been born, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, at Roding-Berners *, in the hundred of Dunmow and county of Essex. The received report is, that she was daughter of Sir James Berners, of Roding-Berners, Knight, whose son Sir Richard was created BARON BERNERS, temp. Hen. IV. and that she once held the situation of Prioress of Sopwell Nunnery, in Hertfordshire.

Her character, as amplified by Bale, is thus described :—

She was an illustrious female, eminently endowed with superior qualities both mental and personal. Amongst the many solaces of human life she held the sports of the field in the highest estimation. This heroic woman saw that they were the exercises of noble men after wars, after the administration of justice, or the concerns of the state. She had learned, perhaps, that Ulysses instituted such diversions after the conquest of Troy, and that they received commendation from Plato, as the sources of renewed enjoyment to those who suffered, either from domestic calamities, or the injuries of war. These arts therefore this ingenious woman was desirous to convey in her writings as the first elements of nobility; with the persuasion, that those youths, in whose hearts resided either virtue or honour, would cultivate them to guard against vain sloth. Since, as Seneca says, ‘ love is generated in youth by luxury; and nourished by idleness basking in the lap of fortune.’ And Ovid says, ‘ Take away idleness, and the arts of Cupid perish.’ To these treatises she added the Art of Heraldry. Hence she wrote in her native tongue, I. The Art of Hawking. II. The Art of Hunting. III. On

* “ Roding-Berners, vulgarly called Bernish Roding.” Morant's *History of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 474.

the Laws of Arms; and is said to have edited a small work on Fishing. She flourished in the year of our Lord 1460, in the reign of Henry the VIth *.

Holinshed places her at the close of the reign of Edward IVth, and adds his testimony to that of Bale, calling her, " Julian Bemes †, a gentlewoman endued with excellent giftes bothe of body and minde [who] wrote certaine treatises of hauking and hunting, delighting greatly hirselfe in those exercises añ pastimes: she wrote also a booke of the lawe of armes and knowledge apperteyning to Haroldes ‡."

To these authorities may be added the recapitulation of them, and addition, in a manuscript note from a copy of the " boke of S^t^. Albans," which must have been in the possession of William Burton, the historian of Leicestershire, as early as 1612 §.

* " Ivliana Barnes, illustris fœmina, corporis & animi dotibus abundans, ac formæ elegantia spectabilis, inter alia humanæ uitæ solatia, uenationes et aucupia in magnis habebat delicijs. Has uidit heroica mulier nobilium uirorum exercitationes esse post bella, post actiones forenses, uel post administrationes in republica. Nouitque fortassis Vlyssem has artes instituisse post captum Ilium, & esse à Platone laudatás, ut essent nouæ uoluptatis solatia, his qui parentes amiserant, aut ex bellis incommoda senserant. Eas igitur artes ingeniosa uirago, per scripta dare studuit, tanquam nobilitatis elementa præcipua: persuadens, ut contra desidiam inanem his uterentur iuuenes illi, quibus est cordi uel uirtus uel honestas. Quoniam (ut inquit Seneca) amor iuuentæ gignitur luxu, ocio nutritur inter læta fortunæ bona. Et Ouidius

Ocia si tollas, periere Cupidinis artes.

His addidit tertiam, Heraldorum scilicet artem. Vnde scripsit in Anglico sermone,

Artem aucupariam,	*Lib.* 1. *Quoniam generosi atque honesti.*
Artem uenatoriam,	*Lib.* 1. *Sicut in libro de arte aucup.*
De legibus armorum,	*Lib.* 1. *In sequenti opere tractatur.*

Dicitur & de piscatione edidisse opusculum. Heraldorum uerò heroicam philosophiam a ueteranis militibus didicisse fertur. Claruit anno à diuini uerbi incarnatione, 1460, regnante adhuc Henrico eius nominis sexto." *Scriptorvm Illustriū—maioris Brytanniæ &c. Autore Ioanne Baleo, Basile*, 1559. *Centvria Octava*, 611.

† *Sic* edit. 1577 and 1587. Baker's *Chronicle* (P. 223) has " Julian Bemes, a *gentleman* of excellent gifts," &c.

‡ Holinshed's *Chronicles*, ed. 1577. Vol. ii. p. 1355.

§ Vide account of that work, under Bibliographical Notices, *postea*.

"This Booke was made by the Lady Julian Berners, daughter of Sr. James Berners, of Berners-Roding, in Essex, Knight, and Sister to Richard Lord Berners. She was Lady Prioresse of Sopwell, a Nunnery neere St. Albans, in wch Abby of St. Albans this was first printed, 1486. 2 Hen. 7. She was living 1460. 39 H. 6. according to John Bale, Centur. 8. Fol. 611 *."

The above appear to be the only biographical incidents which can now be traced in the life of this lady :—Wherever the canvas has been enlarged, or the colours given with higher tints, by later writers, the attempt has uniformly proceeded from the desire of producing novelty. Even these scanty materials have been doubted in several particulars, so far as to render necessary some further observations on her family, title, station, and authorship.

The family of Berners was considerable both in honour and antiquity. Their pedigree, commencing with Hugh de Berners, temp. Wm. I. has been given by Sir Henry Chauncey, from the communication of some branch of the family †, and portions of the genealogy in the visitation books of the heralds, are almost innumerable ‡. According to the versatile orthography of that period, the name was variously spelt, Barnes §, Barners ||, and Berners ¶. Of these it is not immaterial to observe that Barnes ** is of most frequent occurrence.

The above Sir James Berners married Anna, daughter of John Berew, of the county of Southampton. He fell a victim to the turbulence of party, and was beheaded in 1388, as one of the evil counsellors of his imbecile master, Richard II. He left issue three sons; Richard, Thomas, and William; and, as now supposed, a daughter

* The substance of this note was first made known by the indefatigable Hearne: See Walteri Hemingford, 1731, Vol. i. prefatio, p. xcvi: or Mr. Dibdin's valuable Catalogue Raisonée of that writer's publications in *British Bibliographer*, Vol. ii. p. 73.

† *History of Hertfordshire*, p. 160.

‡ Some of these commence with Sir *Gyles* otherwise Sir William Barnes, temp. Richard I. Vide Harl. MSS. 1110, 1546, 6148.

§ Bib. Harl. 1110, 1137.

|| Bib. Harl. 1457, 6148.

¶ Bib. Harl. 1083, 1137.

** Leland calls John Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, Lord Barnes: *Itinerary*, Vol. vi. fo. 36-7. Again we have "the lorde Barnes" as killed at Barnet: *Collectanea*, Vol. i. p. 505: And in the same volume, that "Syr Henry Neville maried one of the daughters of the Lorde Berners." p. 620.

named Julyans. Of his estates in Essex, which became confiscated under the attainder, there was a partial restoration to the widow, the year after the execution * ; though the family was not restored in blood until the general act of parliament passed in the twenty-first year of the same reign. Notwithstanding the loss thus sustained, the family still appear to have retained their rank among the wealthy, and shared in the courtly favours of the Monarch. The widow took for her second husband an illegitimate branch of royalty, in Sir Roger Clarendon, knight, natural son of Edward Prince of Wales. Her eldest son Richard was created a BARON, and settled at Horsham, in Sussex; the second and third sons were Thomas, who resided at Writtle, and William at Finchinfield in Essex.

As neither the heralds nor county historians † have noticed any female offspring of Sir James Berners, some doubts have arisen whether Juliana's claim to consanguinity be founded on sufficient testimony: but their silence might well arise from the final circumstance of her entering a convent, and taking the requisite vows of celibacy. From that period it was usual for the relatives to consider such monastic devotees as no longer branches of the family stock; and if they became strangers to their own kindred, much more so were they likely to become to the world at large: Hence, perhaps, her name

* A hamlet called Berwick-Berners was restored; but the manors of Berneston and Roding-Berners were never re-possessed. The claim made by Margery, the grand-daughter of Sir James, was commuted in 1452 on payment of fifty marks in silver. *Morant's History of Essex.* Vol. i. p. 139.—ii. 475.

† Such as Bale, Pits, Dugdale, Chauncy, Salmon, Morant, Le Neve, Collins, and Banks. Also Weever, see *Funeral Monuments*, ed. 1767, p. 410. An heraldic MS. now first noticed, has also been inspected: it is entitled "The Nobilitie of England. To say, the armes & discentes of all the Dukes, Marqueses, Viscountes, and Lordes or Barons, that haue bin created in England since the tyme of W. Conqueror: To say, from ye yeare of our Lord 1066, vntill this present: 1602. Ending w^h ye death of our late Souērigne Lady Queene Elizabeth. Silentio et Spe." Fo. 99 leaves. The arms are emblazoned, with considerable labour, and the pedigrees extend to more than 500 of the nobility. It has at the end "Finis P. Wm Smith Rouge dragon;" of whose other researches a brief account is given by Mr. Dallaway, in his *Inquiry;* p. 225.—It may be added, that all this is but negative evidence; and the inference that our authoress was not the sister of Lord Berners, is of so very slight a nature, that, perhaps, it was scarce worth noticing. The experience of those deeply versed in heraldic researches, among every species of evidence by which pedigrees can be proved, will support the assertion, that silence of this kind ought not to raise *even a momentary presumption*, much less ought it to countervail the slightest evidence, the other way. At the age of Juliana

would scarcely be preserved beyond the archives of her own society. Whether those archives were inspected by the antiquarian Leland when he made his visitation of religious houses, (armed with royal powers to inspect manuscripts) and whether the notes taken from them by him, by having fallen ultimately into the hands of Burton, form the wished-for authority, must remain a matter of conjecture: But such a conjecture finds a slight support from what Burton advances in another place:—

"Leland, (he says,) had a commission granted him by King Henry the eight, in the 25 yeare of his raigne, to view, peruse, and take to his own vse any record or manuscript, in any abbey or religious house within the realme: out of which records he collected many things together into diuers bookes, foure volumes of which (continues Burton) I haue in my custody, and must truely acknowledge them to haue afforded mee many worthy notes of antiquity *."

The researches of Leland were certainly of a nature most favourable towards gathering the information in question;—information at the time easily obtained, as the last superior of the suppressed priory is known to have survived the antiquary †. Some other circumstances, apparently slight, assist in confirming the authenticity of the statement.

Burton, according to Wood, was one, whose "natural geny leading him to the studies of heraldry, genealogies, and antiquities, he became excellent in those obscure

Berners' visitations had scarcely commenced, and pedigrees were inconceivably meagre: but when they became more full; even so late as the time of Charles I.; omissions of this kind and in much grosser and more material instances were frequent. Numberless specimens might be adduced in proof of this assertion: the outline of one is sufficient. A Baronet, forming a wealthy branch of one of our most anciently ennobled families, subscribed his own pedigree in the Visitation-book, and yet, extraordinary to relate, omitted to notice either of his two younger brothers, both aged men: and that without cause or forgetfulness, as is demonstrable by noticing both in his will (dated a very short period afterwards) by legacies. Supposing there were really any validity in such negative evidence, a person having to establish the connection of these brothers, might have had a great difficulty to overcome, had it not been luckily done away by the will. Perhaps there are few satisfactory pedigrees in any of the Visitation-books, with the exception of those by Gregory King: their omissions are without end.

* Burton's *History of Leicestershire*, p. 39, 40.

† "Sopwell. Joan Pigott last prioress, *ejus Pensio* An. 1553, 6l. at which time only £1. was paid in annuities." Willis's *History of Abbies*, vol. ii. p. 94.

and intricate matters * ;" and it is therefore improbable he would wantonly attempt to mislead ; or retain such an entry in his own copy, unless assured of its correctness.

Her being " Lady Prioress of Sopwell," is corroborated by Chauncy in part, in his account of St. Albans †, which adds such presumptive evidence in support of the note, as to leave the whole statement indubitable. To this may be added the confirmation derived from the unquestioned repetition of all our best antiquaries ‡.

Upon the confluence of authorities below, I shall venture, for the first time, to attach her name as a new bough, to the family pedigree : a pedigree that swells the extinct peerage ; and in which the name of another descendant, JOHN LORD BERNERS, *the translator of Froissart*, has long appeared, like the solitary arm of a decayed tree still bearing fruit, all that remains to awaken interest or enquiry of the parent stem. Together then let them be placed, equally honourable to the respective periods they adorned ; and stand, like remaining columns which once graced the portal of a desolated mansion, still, amidst ruins, mocking the violence and destructive ravages of time.

* Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 75.

† *History of Hertfordshire*, p. 449. Vide postea. It seems impossible to believe Chauncy had any knowledge of the above note.

‡ See Tanner's *Bibliotheca Brit.* p. 76. Middleton's *Dissertation on Printing*, 1735, p. 14. Ballard's *Memoirs of Learned Ladies*, 1752, p. 5. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. ii. p. 171. *Biographia Brit.* Article Berners, by Dr. Kippis, Vol. ii. ed. 1780, p. 274. Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities* p. 1433. Ritson's *Bibliographia Poet.* p. 47. Ellis's *Specimens of English Poets*, vol. i. p. 363. Dallaway on the *Origin of Heraldry*, 1793, p. 157. Brydges *Censura Lit.* vol. i. p. 123. Walter Scott's *Sir Tristrem*, a a Metrical Romance, 1804. MS. M. C. Tutet, *penes me.*

SIR JOHN BERNERS,
of West Horsley, in Surrey, and of Berners Roding, Co. Essex, *ob.* 1347.

SIR JAMES BERNERS, of Berners and Roding, Essex; beheaded on Tower-Hill, 1388. ═══ ANNA, *als.* ALICE, daughter of John Berew, Co. Southampton, aftwds. wife of Sir Roger Clarendon, Knt. *ob.* 4 Hen. IV. 1403-4.

THOMAS BERNERS, of Amerden-hall, Co. Essex.

SIR RICH. BERNERS, Knt. of West Horsley, Co. Surrey, created Baron B. *temp.* Henry IV. *ob.* 1421, aged about 43. ═══ PHILIPPA, daughter of Sir Edwd. Dalingrige, of Bodenham, Co. Sussex, (relict of Sir Thos. Lewknor, Knt.) *ob.* 1421.

* THOS. BERNERS, of Writtle, Essex.

* WM. BERNERS, ancestor of the Bernerses, of Finchinfield, Essex.

* JULYANS BARNES, [*als.* Berners.]

JOHN † DE FERREBY, first husband, died s. p. ═ MARGERY ‡ BERNERS, daughter and sole heir, survived her second husband, John Bourchier, Lord Berners; and died 15 Edw. IV. ═══ JOHN BOURCHIER §, fourth son of William, Earl of Ewe. Knighted 4 Hen. VI. summoned to Parlt. 33 Hen. VI. May 26, 1455; as LORD BERNERS, *jure uxoris: ob.* May 16, 1474.

SIR HUMPHREY BOURCHIER, slain at Barnet, on part of Edwd. IV. April 14th, 1471, *vitâ patris.* ═══ ELIZABETH, daughter and sole heir of Frederick Tilney, of Boston, Co. Linc. Esq. afterwards married Thos. Howard, E. of Surrey, and D. of Norfolk. Will dated Nov. 6, 1506.

KATHARINE daughter of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk. ═══ SIR JOHN BOURCHIER ‖ succeeded his grandfather as LORD BERNERS; summoned to Parlt. 11 & 12 Hen. VII. *ob.* 16 Mar. 1532, Æ. 63.

JANE, daughter, and at length sole heir. ═══ EDMUND KNYVET, Esq.

SIR THOS. KNYVET,
whose great, great grandson, Sir John Knyvet, left a daughter, and at length sole heir, Katharine, who married Richard Bokenham, Esq. and to whom the Barony of Berners was adjudged in 1720.

* It should not be omitted, that in an old Latin pedigree, written *temp.* Hen. VII. printed by Collins, in the case of the Barony of Berners, the only children mentioned are Richard, and *Isabella*, who died at the age of twelve years, *temp.* Richardi Regis. In the same, the mother's name is called *Bowes.*

† Morant calls him Richard, vol. i. 485.

‡ "Some hath Margaret." *Note Harl. MS.* 1110.

§ Markham, in his addition to the Book of Armory, 1595, shewing "the title of Barons growne in England by discent to the daughters and heires thereof," states under "Henry the Sixt: *William* Bourchier maried Margaret daughter and heire of Richard lord Barnes, in whose right he was lord Barnes." In Cole's MSS. is the following entry: "Sir Richard Berners, of West Horsley, in Surry, Knt. of whose descent and heir Margery, wife of Sir *Roger* Bourchier, Knt. of the Garter, and created Lord Berners in honour of his wive's family, is descended Sir Thomas Knivett, of Ashwell Thorpe, in Norfolk, as heir generall." Vol. xi. fo. 6. That his name was *John*, see his autograph in *the Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household*, 1790, p. 27.; and Collins on Baronies in Fee, where the title is set out with minute accuracy, pp. 331.—373.

‖ The translator of Froissart. He writes himself in his Will, John Bourchier, Knt. *Lord Barnes*, (as did his grandfather). See the Will at length, in Collins; p. 337.

Our authoress is usually styled 'Dame,' sometimes more erroneously, 'Lady,' a distinction arising from "Dame Julyans Barnes," being part of the colophon to the book of Hunting. Warton was of opinion that as "a woman of authority she assumed the title of dame *;" while a later writer tells us, that from "being of a *noble house* she was allowed that title †;" implying a more than ordinary distinction from courtesy, perhaps never granted (as in the present instance) either to the daughter of a knight or sister of a new-created baron.

However the term Dame found general use, it denoted neither rank, age, nor character ‡. In the old Chronicles it is applied as well to the wanton concubine §, as to the virgin sister, of a king ‖; while, in one of the earliest of our theatrical interludes, it more simply denotes the person of "a gentelwoman ¶;" and, in another dramatic character, the newly taken wife of a London merchant **.

In the present instance it was assumed under a general rule attached to the Benedictine order of nuns, and takes origin rather from the gifts of fortune than from nobleness of family. It was the custom of religious societies, formed under that order, to make a distinction, however improper, which divided wealth from poverty. The Nuns formed two classes; the one distinguished by the title of Dames, and the other

* Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 172.

† Dallaway *on the Origin of Heraldry*, 1793, p. 158.

‡ *Dama*, a ladie or mistresse. Thomas's *principle Rvles of the Italian Grammer*, 1562. Same in Florio, Minsheu, and others. Selden considers "the word *Domina* as given to women for a special note of honour to them." *Titles of Honour*, 1631. p. 879. Domina domini uxor, quæ in familiam aliamre rem imperium habet. *Gal.* Dame maistresse; *Ital.* la Signora la maestra. *Angl.* A ladie or maistres. *Calepini Dictionarum.*

§ The compiler of the *St. Albans Chronicle*, and Caxton, in the continuation of *Treuisa's Polychronicon*, call the mistress of Edward the Third, "Dame Alyce Pyers." And in *Brute's Chronicle* M. S. the mother of the same king is called "Dame Isabella."

‖ Fabyan, under the year 1467, says, "Dame Margaret, suster vnto the Kynge, rode through the Cytie of London towarde the Sees syde to passe into Flaunders, *then* to be maryed to Charlys Duke of Burgoyne."

¶ "*A new Enterlued for Chyldren to playe, named Jacke Jugeler, both wytte, and very playsent. Newly imprented. The Players names, Mayster Boungrace, a galant:* DAME *Coye*, [his wife], *a Gentelwoman: Jacke Jugler, the vyce: Jenkin Careaway, a Lackey: Ales trype and go, a mayd.* [Wood Cut. Col.] *Imprinted at London, in Lothbury by me Wyllyam Copland.*" *qto. n. d.*

** Character of DAME Kitely, in *Every Man in his Humour*, by B. Jonson.

by that of Lay-sisters. The first were also known as the choir nuns, and principally consisted of those who possessed some property and paid for their maintenance; the lay-sister, less rich, was more humble, contentedly looked up to the dames as superiors, waited on them, and performed other menial offices connected with the household. The vows on admission were the same, and their acts of devotion equally strict. A lay-sister, might, however, be elected an abbess, or advanced to the distinction of the choir *, from which period the appellation of *Sister* was dropt, and she bore the title and enjoyed the privilege of *Dame* †.

The title of "Dame Julyans Barnes," was therefore of no real importance; it was neither hereditary, nor derived from nobility or power; it was a local term, serving as a proper and respectful address to "a gentlewoman," and might be plainly modernised to "Mrs. Julyans Barnes ‡."

With her character of Prioress that of the sportswoman has been repeatedly connected; and our authoress has been described as "a second Minerva in her studies, and another Diana in her diversions §." This conjecture originates from the Treatise

* Peculiar excellence in singing was sufficient to obtain this distinction.

† The same distinction is still preserved. Thomas Phillips, (author of the Life of Cardinal Pole,) who died at Liege, 1774, on the occasion of his sister Elizabeth's entering a convent of Benedictine nuns, at Ghent, of which she afterwards became Abbess, addressed to her some verses, which are thus intitled, "To the Right Reverend and Religious *Dame* Elizabeth Phillips, on her *entering* the Religious order of St. Benét, in the Convent of English Dames of the same order at Gant." *European Magazine, Sept.* 1796, p. 172.—Several Catholic works may be found, as I am informed, either written by, or dedicated to, these spiritual Dames. I shall notice one, as the writer was an Englishwoman, and her name has escaped the researches of Ballard. It is a string of pious confessions, intermingled with divine poems, and intituled, *The Spiritual Exercises of the most religious and vertuous Dame Gertrude More.* The approbation, dated at Paris, April, 1658, from "Fr. Walgravirs Doct. Theol. Monachus & Prior Benedictinus," says: "These confessions or soliloques written by the late deceased Dame Gertrude More, Religious of the English Conuent of Cambray, of the holy Order of S. Bennet, *pious ofspring* of that noble and glorious martyr Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England, contayning nothing but a true practise of that diuine Booke of the Imitation of Christ (restored of late to the true author John Gerson, venerable Abbot of the same order) approoued by al for the mirrour of Christian and religious perfection, needs no approbation but a serious commendation to al," &c.

‡ Upon the Statute Law 'Mistress or Dame' appear synonimous: by Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 4. a servant was not to quit his "Maister, Maistresse, or *Dame*," without giving warning, &c.

§ Oldys, note L. *Life of Caxton*, Biographia Brit.

on Hunting being partly delivered in the first person: So slight an implication can bear little weight when opposed to the rules and regulations that were formed for the society over which she is believed to have presided. The monastery of Sopwell was founded about the year 1140 *. Two women, religiously inclined, having made themselves an habitation by wradling boughs of trees with wattles, and stakes, close to Einwood, and within the precincts of the Abbey of St. Albans, where they passed their time in continual acts of devotion, severe abstinence, and strict chastity, Jeoffry, then Abbot, was induced to erect them into a cell †, subordinate to the mother abbey, appropriating convenient buildings to their use, and directing the women to adopt the vest of nuns, according to the Order of St. Benedict ‡. "Moreover the Abbot, tender for the credit and safety of his Nuns, ordained that they should be inclosed in their house under locks and bolts, and the seal of the Abbot for the time being; and that none should be taken into their college but a select and limited number of virgins ‡:" which were not to exceed the number of thirteen. How long they continued to live under lock and seal is not recorded. The laws certainly fell into some disregard, as in 1338, Michael, then Ab-

* A view of the ruins of Sopwell Nunnery may be found in Grose's *Antiquities*, Supp. Vol. I. p. 96.

† *Celle* is used by our law-writers and antiquaries, for a lesser or subordinate sort of monasteries, which were always of the same order with the abbies on whom they depended, though sometimes of a different sex, it being usual for the great abbies to build nunneries in some of their manors, which should be priories to them, and subject to their visitation. Vide Burn's *Eccles. Law*. ii. 58. 1763. 4to. The word *cell* is sometimes so admitted even by our popular writers: thus Shakspeare—

"Besides, she did intend confession
At Patrick's *cell* this even; and there she was not."

Two Gent. of Verona, Act v. Sc. 2.

‡ "S. Benet, a father of monks, whiche gathered together all strowed religious men, dyd begynne a peculiar order Anno MXXIII, in the tyme of Ihon ye i. B. of Rome, vpon the mount Cassinus; where he built ye moost renowned cloyster geuynge them there a rule, prescripte, and forme of lyuynge, as though Christ had forgotten it. .... He raysed also an order for hys syster Scholastica, and made her abbesse: her clothynge was a black cote, cloke, cole, and vayle. And leste the scripture shulde deceaue her and hyrs, it was commaunded that none shulde reade the holy scripture wythout consente or permission of theyr superior." *The original & sprynge of all sectes*, &c. 1537. *Printed in Southwarke by me James Nicolson, for Iohn Gough.* 12mo.—The rule of St. Benedict is extant in Bibl. Patr. tom. ix.

‡ Chauncy's *History of Herts*, p. 466.

bot, revived certain of the rules, eleven in number, enjoining a more rigid observance of them in future. By these rules it was, amongst other things, ordained, "That a little bell do ring in the morning, as notice to rise and appear; and that none leave the dormitory before the bell rings. That the garden door be not opened (for walking) before the hour of prime, or first hour of devotion; and in summer, that the garden and the parlour doors be not opened until the hour of none [nine] in the morning: and to be always shut when the curfew rings. That no sister hold conversation in the parlour without her cowl on, and her face covered with a veil. No nun to lodge out of the house, and no guest within it *."

Notwithstanding the variation, suspension, or trifling relaxation of such restrictions, usually arising from the progress of time, in all institutions; yet was it the duty of the Superior of Sopwell Priory, to enforce some remnant of its laws;—*her* manners formed a model to the monastic votaries; and her presence was uniformly necessary to regulate the daily acts of devotion †. Under such restrictions it is impossible to believe

* *History of the Ancient and Royal Foundation, called the Abbey of St. Alban*, &c. by the Rev. Peter Newcome, 1795. p. 468.

† It seems certain that the Abbot for the time being (or his deputy, the prior), in whom alone, according to the History of the Abbey, (p. 220.) "was the power to make the prioress, without any consent or leave of the sisters," always selected those not too far advanced in life to perform the duties of the office in person, and when they became disqualified by age, they were removed. The following are all the names of the ladies holding the office, that I have met with; but the list must be incomplete.

Domina Johanna prioresse de Soppewelle.

1330. Domina Philippa died, and was succeeded by Alice de Pekesdene.

1416. Domina Matilda de Flamstede, is mentioned as formerly prioress. She probably resigned the situation from age, as she died in 1430, and had "lived in the rules of religion 60 years and 18 weeks; and in the whole, 81 years and 8 weeks."—Ib. p. 311.

1426. Domina Leticia Wyttenham.

1480. Joan Chapell, from the infirmity of age set aside, and Elizabeth Webb appointed in her stead.

1553. Joan Pigott, prioress at the time of abolishing of the convents, and living at this period.

No date has any where been assigned for the period that Dame Julyans is supposed to have held the office; she might be an intermediate prioress between Leticia Wyttenham, and Joan Chapell.

that the staid prioress could, while in the exercise of such an important station, devote her time, without impeachment, to the diversions of the field. That resignation and strict piety might indulge in partial and innocent amusements, may be credited; but to hold familiarity with hawks; to study their singular propensities; to collect recipes for the destruction of their vermin; exceed the attention of a menial ostreger in their care; or, by following the pleasures of the chace, surpass a huntsman in knowledge of the art and technicalities of venery; and withal, to suppose a holy prioress wandering over champaign and through woodland, as the prey either on wing, or of fleet foot, might deviously guide, is forming a character of such inconsistent shreds, that, when blended together, it appears rather fitted for some partial creation of fiction, than the faithful delineation of real life.

General opinion, upon equally slight and undeterminate grounds, has also attributed to her pen the whole of the treatises inserted in the present volume *; a conclusion drawn from the deficiency of another name, sanctioned by equal authority, and not upon any critical examination, or attempt to discriminate the portion which she might have contributed. "Explicit Dam Julyans Barnes in her boke of huntyng," says the St. Alban's copy: "Explicit Dame Julyans Bernes doctryne in her boke of huntynge," is the variation in 1496. From the words "in her boke of huntynge," only, can it be supposed she was known to have written on any other subject; and which certainly appears the fact, though not to the extent that is usually conjectured. To give a summary of her performances, upon the authorities referred to, under the bibliographical enquiry, there may probably be ascribed to her

A small portion of the Treatise upon Hawking;
The Treatise upon Hunting;
A short List of the Beasts of Chace;
And another short one of Persons, Beasts, Fowls, &c.

Even these compilations, upon examination, will be found to display a varied and extensive knowledge of the passing world. The terms of familiarity applicable to the ordinary classes of society, prove them to have been collected by one mixing unreservedly with mankind; and not the local or casual gatherings, of a simple recluse in a nunnery. But why should it be believed that our authoress passed her whole life immured in a cloister? If conjecture may supply the absence of facts, how easily can a more consistent outline be furnished. Let us suppose her educated in a

* "All compiled by Juliana Barnes, in the yere from the incarnation of Christ, 1486." Vide title to Markham's edition, 1595.

convent * ; the teens passed with relations in the vicinity of the court ; at times partaking of the amusements of the field, then a favourite pursuit with ladies of family † ; forming a common-place book, according to the literary plan of that period, on various subjects ; from disappointment retiring to a cloister, where an advancement to the office of superiour commonly attended courtly connections ‡ ; amidst the hours of listless solitude, either seeking amusement by the translation of a treatise upon hunting, from the French language ; or versifying the general rules of the sport from her own collections ; whereby it became set forth with the affixture of " Dame Julyans Barnes ;—and the sketch is at least plausible. It unites all the supposed characteristics of our authoress, without violating probability, or distorting consistency.

To conclude, the facts resolve themselves into very few particulars. Her name to the Book of Hunting stands most prominent. Next, the date given by Bale, whose delineation of her appears to have been drawn from the second edition of the work, as he attributed to her pen the Treatise on Angling then first printed : her being prioress of Sopwell, which rests on the united authorities of Burton and Chauncy, though the date remains to be discovered by some more fortunate investigator : and lastly, the probability of her being related to the Berners' family.—Such is the extent of information of the life of our authoress, who, if the above separation of the pieces which were really written by her prove just, will have the literary claim materially narrowed ; yet this is a circumstance rather to her advantage than otherwise (as will be seen in a future page) by freeing her character from the weight of censure, by which it has long been shadowed, and giving it a fairer claim to be considered as feminine.

* " Before the Reformation young women had their education, not at Hackney, as now (scil. anno 1678) but at nunneries, where they learned needle-work, confectionary, surgery, physic, (apothecaries and surgeons being at that time very rare) ; writing, drawing, &c." *The Customs and Manners of the English. Aubrey, MS. in Ashm. Mus. Oxon. Printed in Antiq. Repertory, Vol. 3. p. 43.*

† Vide Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, B. I. Ch. I. sect. xj. Ch. II. sect. vj.

‡ According to Fuller's doctrine, the Abbeys gladly received the younger branches of nobility without reward, to secure friends " on all occasion at court, and chiefly in all parliaments." *Church History, p. 297.*

OHN INSOMUCH, a name given by Sir Henry Chauncy to the printer, and who was also, undoubtedly, editor of this and other works. Little of this person can now be traced, and the passage in the county historian appears too thickly interwoven with errors to place reliance on. In the account of the town and abbey of St. Alban's *, he says:

" William Caxton, mercer of London, brought this noble art of printing into England which was first practised in the Abby of St. Peter at Westminster; then John Insomuch, a monk and schoolmaster in this town, erected a printing-press in this monastery, where several books were printed; one entituled the *Fruit of Time*, another the *Gentleman's Recreation*, or the Book of St. Alban's, so term'd because printed here, in thin folio, anno, 1481; and compiled by Julian Barns, the Abbess of Sopwell †."

For the name of " Insomuch," no better authority has yet been discovered, than that both the works above noticed commence with that word ‡. The " Gentleman's Recreation," is an erroneous variation of the title, fabricated by Gervase Markham, in 1595, who called it " The Gentleman's Academie;" and the date given, of 1481 §, remains unconfirmed amidst the late numerous and successful researches made upon the subject of Typographical Antiquities ||.

* Chauncy's *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, 1700, p. 449.

† The whole of this erroneous statement has been adopted, without acknowledgment, by Steevens in the continuation of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Herbert says at p. 1430, " both these names seem to be mere conjecture." Again, Oldys in the Biog. Brit, " John Insomuch, a name surely that was never ascribed to the compiler or printer of this book [Fruit of Time] till it appeared in Sir Henry Chauncy." No such name occurs in any of the lists of monks, remaining in manuscript, that I have inspected: and there appears to have been a special return made of all of them in 1480; the enumeration may be found in Newcome's *Hist. of St. Alban's*, p. 392.

§ " Sir Henry Chauncy never saw the edition printed at St. Alban's of this book, nor perhaps any other, because he calls it by a wrong title; *The Gentleman's Recreation*, &c. and makes the press delivered of it in 1481, five years before its time." *Oldys' note.*

|| Chauncy misled Bagford and Hearne; who, both repeating the *date*, have occasioned a tedious and vain research after a work which it is not probable ever existed. Another writer

But that in the person of this monk * or school-master may be traced the editor or compiler of the present work, I shall proceed to prove. It is a circumstance which escaped the observation of Oldys, who has minutely described the several tracts, and examined at some length the contradictory nature of the subjects and language as attributable to the lady prioress. But this writer never considered attentively a fact, of which the proof must have lain before him; otherwise the serious censure contained in his observations would have been omitted. He never reflected that interpolations might be made by another hand at the time of printing; or that the work itself was not edited by our authoress. Yet the last point appears certain: For, whether the traditional tale of consanguinity to the Berners' family be admitted, whereby she would be near a hundred years old when the work was first printed; or whether that point is given up for want of adequate support, is immaterial; and, to remove all objection, were it assumed, with modern biographers, that she "was living in 1486 †;" still the certainty that she did not superintend the printing, or compile the work, is easily adduced. Oldys consulted, and refers to, both the Chronicle and Book of St. Alban's, and that his critical acumen and minuteness of investigation should not discover them to be the production of the same person, afford a proof of very unusual oversight. Both volumes commence with the word 'Insomuch,' a peculiarity in character with the alliterative conceits of many writers of that period, rather than of accidental origin; and on comparing the following introductory passages, there cannot be a doubt but that they flowed from the same pen.

> "‡ N so myche that it is necessari to all creaturis of criston religyon. or of fals religyon: os gētyles and machomytes: to knaw theer prince or prynces that regne a pon them. and theem to obey. So it is commodyus to knaw theer nobull actis or dedys. and the circumstās of theer lyues. Therfoor ī the yeer," &c. §

of far more slender authority, says, "Her discourse on Hunting is in rhyme, and was published at St. Alban's about the year 1480, though it is believed there must have been some mistake in the date." *Memoirs of celebrated Female Characters*, &c. by Mrs. Pilkington, 1804, *Art.* Berners.

* Manwood, in his *Forest Laws*, says it was "written by a monk."

† So says Watkins's *Biographical Dictionary*, 1807; and Lempriere's *Universal Biography*, 1808.

‡ The first letter, as was usual in early printed books, is omitted for the purpose of being emblazoned.

§ Commencement of "The Prolog" to the *Chronicle of St. Alban's*, ed. 1483.

"In so moch that gentill men and honest persones haue greete delite in haukyng, and desire to haue the maner to take haukys: and also how and in waat wyse they shulde gyde theym ordynateli: and to knaw the gentill termys in communyng of theyr haukys; and to vnderstonde theyr sekeneses and enfirmitees: and also to knawe medicines for theym accordyng. and mony notabull termys that ben vsed ī hawkyng, both of their haukys and of the fowles that their hawkys shall sley. Therfore thys book fowlowyng," &c. *

It would be wilful scepticism to doubt whether both compilations were by the same editor: of whose personal history not any thing authentic is known, beyond the probability of his being a monk, and the information recorded of Wynkyn de Worde, thus: "Here endeth this presente Cronycle of Englande with the fruyte of tymes, compiled in a boke & also Impryted by one sumtyme scole mayster of seynt Albons, vpon whose soule god haue mercy. Amen †."

* Incip. of the "*Book of St. Albans*," ed. 1486. The introduction to the Treatise of Hunting bears the same character of composition.

† Imprynted in "the yere of oure lorde god. M.CCCCC. and XX. fo. c.lxiii.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL prefixtures being so generally restricted to the brief, but useful register of titles, dates, and editions, it seems necessary to observe that such a limited plan could not be here pursued, on account of the many progressive variations in the work described; the circulation of which, for a long period, vied with, and perhaps exceeded, that of every other contempory production of the press, of lesser eminence than Holy Writ. Besides that, research has produced much digrestive and incidental matter, relating to the external and internal history of the volume, which collections have been arranged under the following heads:

I. Of the several treatises.
II. Of the appellative title.
III. Of the respective known editions.

Of the several Treatises.

Of the Treatise upon Hawking.—Hawks, heretofore the pride of royalty; the insignia of nobility; the embassadour's present; the priest's indulgence; companions of the knight; and nurslings of the gentle mistress; are now uncared for and neglected. Again they roam the unchecked tyrants of their native element; and the diversion founded upon their ravenous appetites is become obsolete and nearly forgotten. The sports of our ancestors in the field were assimilated to the hardiness of their manners. To toil in pursuit of the changing movements of the hawk, now soaring, circling, in flight and aërial combat, until the devoted heron was conquered *;

* "The heron, or hernsew, is a fowl that liveth about waters, and yet she doth so abhorre raine and tempests, that she seeketh to avoid them by flying on high. She hath her

blended amusement with unceasing novelty, exercise, and health: and to curb and render docile those voracious birds, was accounted, in this country, for near a thousand years, a manly and noble pursuit. Many manuscript collections of recipes applicable to their numerous maladies and distempers were formed, and from time to time re-copied by the scribes, during remote ages, for the use of their patrons. A few such collections are known to be still preserved. Some, more widely dispersed, may yet remain unheeded; though the greater number has certainly been destroyed by the negligence of indifferent possessors. From such authorities our monk compiled this treatise. The want of arrangement discovers the hand of casual and progressive accumulation, and he might obtain considerable assistance from a common-place book, not improbably in its origin formed by or under the personal inspection of our Dame Juliana, for a MS. of this kind is still preserved in the Harleian collection; it being a volume of quarto shape and diminutive size, containing three distinct treatises upon hawking: the writing is of different hands, and none of the treatises can be considered of earlier date than the reign of Henry VI. It is usual to describe the first as "Prince Edward's Treatise," which commences in the same words (excepting the prefatory induction) as the printed work, with other passages of similar resemblance. The second piece did not afford any material assistance, but of the last nearly the whole is inserted in the Book of St. Alban's, and has the extraordinary distinction in the colophon of the initials of Juliana Barnes. That the first MS. and the printed treatise had one common origin, will appear from the following extracts *:

"This is the maner to kepe hawkes, but not almaner of hawkes; but only goshaukes *and* sperhaukes. First to speke of haukes they beth egges *and* afterward they be disclosed haukes. And we schuld say that haukes eyrith in wodes *and* not bredeth. And then when they be gynne to feder a non by kynd they woll drawe them somwhat oute of here neste, *and* clambre *onn* bowes, and come a gayn to here neste, and then [they] beth clepid bowers. *And*

nest in very loftie trees, and sheweth as it were a natural hatred against the gosse hawk, and other kinde of hawks: and so likewise doth the hawk seek her destruction continually. When they fight above in the aire, they labour both especially for this one thing, that the one might ascend and be above the other. Now, if the hawk getteth the upper place, he overthroweth and vanquisheth the heron with a marvellous earnest flight; but if the heron get above the hawk, then with his dung he defileth the hawk, and so destroyeth him, for his dung is a poison to the hawk, rotting and putrifying his feathers." *Specvlvm Mundi; or, a glasse representing the face of the world. By John Swan, Mr. of Arts, late Student of Trin. Col. Cam.* 1635. *p.* 400.

* The abbreviations of the MSS. are pointed out by Italicks.

aft*er* the feste of Seint Margarete, they woll fle fro tre to tre, *and* then they beth callyd branchers. Them who so woll take he*m* he moste haue vrens y made of good smal threde to encile the haukes that ben J take. And *thou* wolte take a goshauke let his wach be a coluour. And yf he falle not therto put a rabett *and* if he falle not *ther* to putt a wesyll, *and* if he fall not thereto loke *neuer* other wach And when thu hast take a hauke encile that hauke in this *maner*. Take the nedill *and the threde and* put *throwte* the neder lydde, *and* so of the *other and* knytte both thredes on the top of his hede, then she is enciled as she oght to be. Then bere this hauke vpon thy fiste, *and* kaste here vpon her berke, *and* lete here be *ther* vn to morow at euen, then take the thredes *and* kut *them* esily a way for breking of her lyddes : *then* sofft *and* faire begynne fede here and fare feir with here till she woll stande opon thi fiste for it is drede for hertyng of her whingys; *and* in the same nyght *after* that feding, wake here all that nyght *and* a morow bere her all that day, *and* then she woll be *preuey* y noght to be reclamyd." *Compare with* Sig. a j.

"Here beginneth the *termys* of hauking.—In the begynnyng of termes of haukyng who so woll hem lere, he schall he fynd six *ther* ben of termys. The first is holde fast when a batith. The ij. is, rebate your hauke to *your* fiste. The iij. is, fede *your* hauke *and* sey note geue here mete. The iiij. is *that* an hauke suyth [h] is beke *and* not wypith. The v. cast *your* hauke to *the* perke *and* say not ley. The vj. is *that your* hauke ioketh, and not slepith. And who so woll *lerne* the kyndely speche of haukyng many *ther* ben *that* here *after* suyth. The first is to say *this* is a ferre hauke, a huge hauke, a long hauke, a shorte hauke thyk : and sey not *this* is a grete hauke. And ye shall sey *this* hath a large beke; or a sworte of a huge hedde; or a smalle feir J sesounde enfered yes. And ye shull say *this* hauke is full y gorgid and hath endewed or J put *ouer*. And ye schull say *that your* hauke mutith," &c. See *Sig.* a iii. *rev.* and a iiij.

"That a hawke be not putte in mewe.—If thu louyste wel thi hauke put here not in mewe to late : for, if it be a sorehauke put her in the month of *Februarie*, and if it be a mewer put her in the month of *Januarie*, for who so for couetyse of fleyng lesith the tyme of his haukys mewyng, *and* holdeth her lenger then afterwardys he may put her in mewe as a venture wol yeue : for ho so put hauke in mewe in the begynnyng of lente, if he be fedde *after* here luste, he shall be mewyd in the begynnyng of Auguste. The mewe in this maner schal be sette *that* no *fuchere* no volymare *enter* in a *nother* wynd ne grete colde *nether* if hit be hote, but *that* the *party* be turnyd toward the sunne, so *that* in the moste *parte* of the daye the sonne may shyne in. *Then* loke *that* he be not greuyd *with* no noyse *nother with* song of man, but of *him that* fedeth him then ordeyn *his* fedyng stokke *that* it hurte *hym* not in no wyse; and loke *that* his

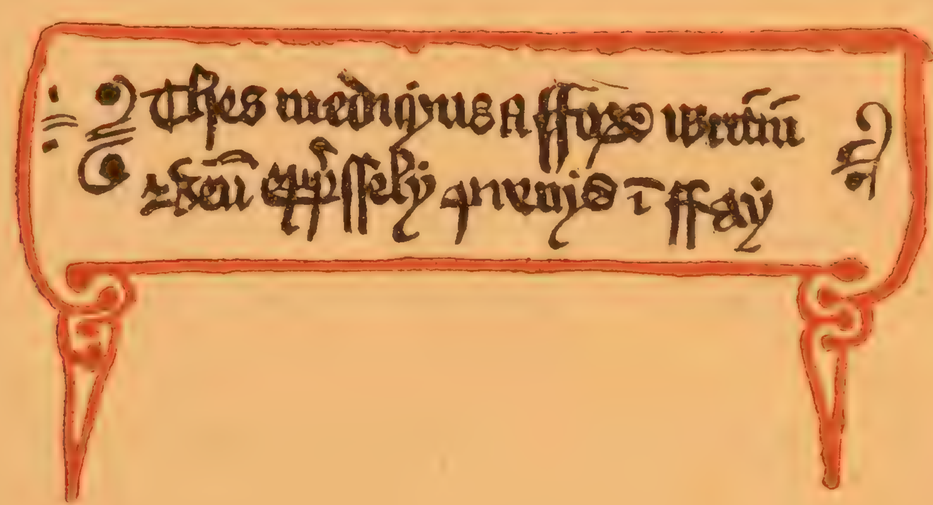
mete be clene for of yuell mete wol he non : ne suffre no reyn to wete, be syring of bathyng she take no hunderyng of her mewyng." See *Sig. b.* iiij. *rev.*

[At the conclusion.]

The writer of the second manuscript has noted (as in the following recipe) articles singularly curious, to have been used medicinally on such an occasion.

" Yf sche hafe *the* frownce lyke *the* flawys of snowe, *than* take it of wt owte bledyng : & yf it be be leke to blede sese. And than take *the* powdir of Sandragon & straw it apon *the* sore plasis & *than the* secūde day serch hym azen & all *the* whyle it ryse take it awey for yt that wyllnot, take & put hyr throte full of rawe hony, & yf *this* avayle not wt in iij days than take *the* sode of clene wode or of tymbyr & not of stree. And strew *that* full hyr throte & hyr *mowthe*, and latt hyr stand *ther* wt the space of ij mynetys than wach owte *that* wt womanys mylk, marys mylke, gotys mylke or wt cremy mylke of a cowe, *than* take hony or capunys grese & anoynte all hyr throte *ther* wt & *this* wyll hell hyr hole & sownde."

These medicines a fore written (seems the sense of the colophon) be expressly proved in faith.



The third manuscript appears of sufficient authority to designate the common-place collection of Juliana Barnes, which extends to six leaves only. Here is found the original list of hawks assigned to persons according to their rank, and also the terms applicable to the diversions of hawking and hunting, and several classes of society, afterwards considerably enlarged when printed.

" *Termys how zor hawke fleyth.*—The hawke fleyth to *the* vve [view] *that* is whan the hawke hath fowndyn hyr game To *the quarre* whar the ostreger hath fowndyn he must be *ware wether the* fowle be moryng or fletyng, ellys he mygth

dysseyse *the* hawke. whan sche schall flye. The hawke flyyth to *ferr* jotee *that* is to sey whan *the* hawke hath not fowndyn hyr game. nor *the* ostreger neydyr but it spryngyth or sordyth vp sodēly be hym. The jotte *ferr* is whan the counteryuer layth ouyr *the* fowle to yowe & zyt lat not *the* tapyr serse to *the* hauke sese *the* fowle. All *the* whyle *that the* hauke is vndyr and *the* fowle soryth vp zor hauke is at a vantage, whan *that the* hauke is a boue *than the* fowle for ferde *anewyth in* to *the* watyr *thar the* fowle soylyth slow *her* ben. zor termys let. or be lewde.

Thre hawkys longyn for a *emperour that* is to say an egkyl. A wantour. A millon. nether luryd nor reclaymid. for hem.

Ther ben hawks of towr; *that* is to sey a gerefacōn and a tarselet of *the* same. for a kyng.

A facōn jēntyll. A terselet *ther* of. for a p'nce.

A facōn of the rocke. A terselet *ther* of. for a Duke.

A facon *peregryne*. A terselet *ther* of. for An erle.

A Bastarde wt a terselett. for a lorde.

A sakyr and a sakyrret. for a knyzth.

A layner and a laynerett. for a sqwyer.

A lese of marlyons. for a lady.

A hoby or a taselet of *the* same for a sqer of *the* fyrst hede to make *the* larke to tapyse.

A gosehawke for a pore man.

A tersell for a zeman.

A spawke for a prest.

A muskett for an haly watyr clarke.

A kesterell for a knafe.

An aby hawke is canvas mayle. a lovyng hauke *and* an harde *that* may *indur* mych sorowe & comynly thei be the hardyest.

Now of Venery lerne well zor Termys.

Ther ben. iiij. bestys of venery. The har. The harte. The wolfe. and *the* wylde bor. of venery *ther* ben no moo. Ther ben bests of *the* chase of *the* swete fute. And bests of *the* chase of *the* styngande fute. The Buke. *the* doo. *the* Ber. *the* reyne der. *the* elke. *the* spytand, *that* is an harte of an C zer. holde. All *thes* ben of *the* swete fute. Ther ben best of *the* styngand fute. *the* fulmard. *the* fechewe. *the* catt. *the* gray. *the* fox. *the* wesyll. *the* marteron. *the* sqrell. *the* whyterache. *the* otyr. *the* stote. *and the* polcate. A hunte hath j cast of a copyll of alonds to an herde of hartes.

the harte takys *the* watyr. than he soyelys. *and* whan he *gothe* wt *the* streme than he fletys. whan he cum'yth vp a zen. than he *brekyth* or betys. whan he cumyth ouyr he crossyth. whan he retornyth to *the* todyr syde he recrossyth. whan he takyth *the* maynelonde he fleyth. An harte flyth. An fawcon flyth. and an harte is herborowyde A knyth is herborowyde.

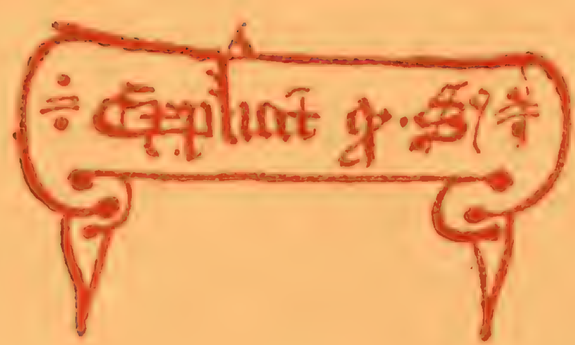
A Bukke is logged
A Squier is logged
A Roobuke is beddyd
A zeman * is beddyd
A har is formyd schulderyng or lendyng.
A boye is beddyd brawling.
A cony syttyth.
A p*ar*car walkyth
A p*er*terych stalkyth
A Crane stalkyth
A heyron stalkyth
A herde of hartys
A herde of Bukkys
A herde of Cranys
A herde of Corlewis
A herde of wrennys
A Bevee of Roys †
A Bevee of q'ylys ‡
A Beve of ladys
A nye of fesawnts
A Couy of pt'kkys §
A Rowte of wolfys
A Rowte of knytys.
A souneder of wyld swyn.
A chermyng of goldfychys
A chatteryng of sterlyngys
A ost of men
A ost of sparowys.
A gagyllyng of gese
A gagyllyng. of womē
A floke of schepe
A trype of *gete*
A huske, or a downe of harys.
A haras of horse
A haras of harlott
A teme of oxyn
A teme of swanys
A teme of dukys ‖
A flyzth of dowfys ¶
A flyzth of larkys
A sculke of foxys
A sculke of freyrs
A sculke of theuys.
A sege of heyrōnys
A sege of Botowrys
A spryng of Telys
A sorde of malardys
A doppyng of Scheldrakys
A dyvyng of antelys
A dysseyte of lapwynk
A onkyndenes of Ravynnys
A trewloufe of Turtyllys
A Clustyr of Grapys.
A Clustyr of Nottys'**

* Tyeman.

† Roes. ‡ Quails. § Partridges. ‖ Ducks.
¶ Doves. ** Nuts.

A clowdyr of carlys
A clowdyr of cattys

Lat cattys scrate carlys wt sorow j wys
Lerne or be lewde j tell *the* thys.



It were wandering into a labyrinth of conjectures, not affording much chance of a clue, were we to enquire whether the first of these excerpts was, according to traditionary report, formed by Edward the Confessor *; or, by any other English king; or whether, as more probable, the above colophon originated in a fanciful illustration by the scribe to compliment some reigning monarch of that name, for his partiality to the diversion of hawking †. The sources from which the Harleian collection was formed, were too general to assist any enquiry on that subject. Ingenuity may urge many plausible arguments without producing any fact to prove that these MSS. were preserved in the Abbey of St. Alban's, and the excerpts used by the editor of the printed volume; or that the last of the three is in the hand writing of Juliana Barnes.

The coincidence is singular, and deserves notice, that two ancient excerpts made in different hand writing, unconnected, save by subject, should match in size; be, perhaps, of equal date; contain a material and large portion of the printed copy; and yet be preserved by chance, in the same modern binding: but these circumstances, when united, do not positively establish any fact that aids the present enquiry.

* Strutt's *Manners and Customs*, Vol. iii. p. 123.

† It is not easy to accredit the following passage in the manuscript, omitted in the printed copy, as arising from royal familiarity.

" For hawke that will nat come to recleme to make here come.—Take fresch butt. and put *ther* to Sygur & put it in a clene cloute & recleme hym *therto* & kepe it in a boxe in *your* bag. Wiliam Watssone y^th^ sende the this other day how men schuld goshawkes & sphaukes kepe. Of the faucoun gentill & the laner solas is *there* non to hym that may not labour, for so who woll vse *that* crafft he moste caste his herte *therto* to gete & conquere worschip of his faucoun̄.

That these MSS. comprise the best early information on the subject of hawks, and, as such, obtained a limited circulation before the æra of printing, seems probable; and further, it is conclusive from them, that the printed treatise, as already observed, was gathered from several collections, and neither the sole production of our authoress, nor of the St. Albans Schoolmaster. They also strengthen, if not confirm the supposition, of Dame Julyans' labours having formed a larger portion of the printed copy than the single treatise upon hunting. If the age of the last excerpt be compared with the period when, according to Bale, she might have been in the prime of life, it will be found nearly coeval; and the addition of her cypher * at the end, gives the compilation a claim, if not a certainty, of having been formed by her; although afterwards considerably enlarged with other matter, for the general use and satisfaction of the public. Hence might arise the opinion of her having compiled the whole volume, as particularised by Bale, though that opinion, even now, will not bear the test of investigation. The general result to be drawn from these premises has already appeared in the conjectural apportionment of the printed work, made to her in a former page; and though her claim may not stand absolutely proved, let it remain sanctioned until some more conclusive authority is discovered; and it will not be speedily disturbed.

The early and continued popularity of the 'Book of St. Albans,' in all the various shapes that it passed the press, for above a century, was founded on the prevalence and fashion of the diversion of hawking. Although a laboured and extensive treatise afterwards appeared upon that subject †, yet the general demand for the work did not

* As a fac simile of the characters is given above, I leave the proof of the initials to the reader's judgment, without a remark. It appears singular that such a circumstance should not be noticed by the accurate and indefatigable Strutt, who made repeated use of the same manuscript for his works.

† *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hauking, by George Turbeuile, Gentleman,* 1575, 4to. Second edition in 1611, said to be "augmented with many new additions," but there is not any foundation for such pretensions. This, as well as the book of Hunting, by the same author, was taken from the French, and the wood cuts for both copied from *La Venerie et Favconnerie de Iaques dv Fovillovx, Paris,* 1535, and *La Venerie de Iaques du Fovillovx, Gentilhomme, &c. Paris,* 1562.

Four other treatises have been printed, viz.

Latham's Falconry, or the Faulcon's Lure, &c. Part 1, 1615, Part II. 1618. 4to. Both reprinted 1633; again in octavo 1658.

An approved Treatise of Hawkes and Hawking, by Edmvnd Best, Gentleman, 1619. quarto.

abate much before the amusement declined in popular favour. Hunting and Angling have since been followed without intermission, and the treatise upon the last repeatedly

A Summary of Falconry, collected out of several authors, was published by the learned John Ray, with *the Ornithology of Francis Willvghby*, 1678, Fo. This elaborate and succinct treatise is but little known. The compiler simply describes it "An *Idea of Falconry*," being "an abridgement of the authors long since Englished, and put together by Turbervile, and. of our own late and best approved writer Latham, with something out of Aldrovandus." But it is a finished and valuable performance, with an exposition of terms of art; general observations; and instructions of management and reclaiming in the first part, and of diseases in the last part. It contains the whole system of general knowledge, corrected by that of practice, as a marginal note testifies, "I speak this by experience, and on my credit."—See p. 427.

A Treatise of Modern Faulconry: to which is prefixed, from Authors not generally known, an Introduction, shewing the practice of Faulconry in certain remote Times and Countries. By James Campbell, Esq.—Nititur pennis. Hor. Edinburgh. Printed by Balfour & Smellie, for the Author, M,DCC,LXXIII.—This work is little known. Campbell was falconer to the Earl of Eglinton, and submitting it to the inspection of the Rev. A. Gillies, was told an early account of hawking must be prefixed. He could only speak from practice, the other artfully, knowing little of the practice but something of the history, proffered to supply the deficiency: hence arises the preface in ridicule of the *Origin and Progress of Language*, then newly published, and a fabulous account of hawking by the Emperor Arambombamboberus with Trebezonian eagles, on the authority of a manuscript in the Grand Sultan's library. This bantering of the wit produced the worst effects for the author, who, instead of a rapid sale, found himself possessed of a mass of waste paper.

It may not be irrelevant to register "*Seuerall wayes of Hunting, Hawking, and Fishing, according to the English manner, &c. invented by Francis Barlow, etched by W. Hollar; And are to be sould by John Overton, at the White Horse without Newgate. London.*

If Hunting, Hawking, Fishing, pleasure yeald,
How much may art exceede, as if in Feild
You vew'd each sport, by figure so exprest,
The severall wayes they take Fowle, Fish, & beast." n. d. [1671.]

Hawking is described in three prints: Howit in the *British Sportsman*, 1800, has four—but the illustrator must obtain the autumn from the seasons, by Ridenger.

General works, professing to be guides to field sports, and comprehending an article on hawking, are too many to be enumerated. At the head of that class is generally placed *the Gentleman's Recreation*, in compiling which the editor has not thought it necessary to acknowledge the sources of information; a circumstance fitly censured by Ray, in his preface to the Ornithology.

transcribed by the ardent lovers of the rod, without either having sufficient interest to encourage another reprint to the present period.

At the time this work was set forth by W. de Worde, Falconry had long been imperceptibly increasing its followers, and several penal acts had passed to restrain persons of mean estate from indulging in that diversion. Few of the birds were indigenous, and those sluggish of flight, and not equal to the foreign ones. Their scarcity, value *, expence of training and keeping +, had therefore given a celebrity to the diversion that stamped the bearing of the hawk as a decisive sign of grandeur and opu-

* Of the value of hawks the notices are few: By an entry on the Originalia Rolls, Edw. III. (Orig. vol. ii. p. 267.) it appears that a Falcon Gentil cost 20s. A Tersil Gentil 10s. L'Estour 3s. 4d. A Tersil L'Estour 6s. 8d. and a Laner 6s. 8d. These were the prices which the sheriff was to give for hawks for the king's use.—Among the expences of Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, 17 Hen. 8. is "Item p'd to Pemberton for a Falcon £1." (See Whitaker's Craven, p. 233.)—Burt, whose treatise is dated 1619, states he "had for a Goshawke and a Tarsell a hundred marks, both sold to one man within sixteen months."——Thomas Nash *Philopolitem*, in his *Qvaternio*, 1633, decries the madness "to bestow ten pounds in feathers, which at one blast might be blowne away."—In a collection of witticisms, without date, a silly story describes there being at a great fair a mew of hawks to be sold, and that divers knights and others gave three pounds; five pounds; or ten pounds for a bird.—Another authority upon this subject has been quoted repeatedly, and, in some instances, by altering a single word, a ridiculous and inconceivable value has been attached to a "a cast of hawks." The work referred to is *the Court and Character of King James*, by Sir A. Weldon, printed 1650, again in the following year with some variations, as noticed by *italics* "The French [king, probably,] sending over his Faulconers to shew that sport, his Master Faulconer lay long here, but could not kill one kite, ours being more magnanimous then the French Kite; Sir Thomas Monson [K. James's Master Falconer] desired to have that flight in all exquisitenes, & to that end was at £1000 charge in Ger-faulcons (*Gos*-faulcons: first edit.) for that flight, in all that charge he never had but one cast would performe it, and those had killed nine kites, *which were as many as they put off unto, not any one of them escaping*. (Kites, *never missed one*: first ed.) *Whereupon* the Earle of Pembrook with all the Lords, desired the King but to walk out of Royston towns end, to see that flight, which was one of the most stateliest flights of the world, for the high mountee; the King went unwillingly forth, the flight was shewed, but the Kite went to such a mountee, and *the hawke after her*, as all the field lost sight of kite and hawke and all, and neither kite nor hawke were either seen or heard of to this present, which made all the court conjecture it a very ill omen." The apparent extravagance of Monson by the "charge of a thousand pounds in goshawks, only for one

lence. The legislature attempted to confine this a mark of eminence, solely to the nobility and gentry, by enacting :—

" That no man from the Feast of Pasche next coming, bear any hawk of the breed

flight," is first noticed in Oldys's note, in Bio. Brit. afterwards by Warton, in the *Observations on Spenser*, 1762, (Vol. ii. 173.) : and Pennant who inserted, without acknowledgment, all Warton's notices upon hawking, in the *British Zoology*, 1768 (Vol. i. p. 133.) varying, most improperly, the payment by Monson, as " for a *cast* of hawks ;" a word expressive of the flight of only *two* birds. See *postea sig.* e iiii. " a cast of hawkis of the toure, ij." and *Certaine pieces of this age parabolized by Thomas Scot, Gentleman*, 1616. sig. I. v.—The obligation of Pennant to the researches of Warton, is evident by the remarks from the Book of St. Alban's, and following the error, in supposing that work printed by Caxton. After all, the obscurity in the above passage by Weldon wants some elucidation, and must rest chiefly on supposing so large a sum of money could only be wasted in maintaining the court during the exhibition. However, the story is also related, without noticing the expence, as from a manuscript of similar authority : where also may be found the inscription supposed to have been on the ring of the lost hawk, dated 1610, and brought from the Cape of Good Hope in 1793. *Credat Judæus.* See *Gentleman's Mag.* vol. LXIII. p. 101. Another hawk's ring described, vol. LXV. p. 474.

† As on the subject of the above note, the information respecting the yearly expence of keeping hawks is very imperfect.—Sir John Harrington says, (" according to the tale in the hundred mery tales,") of " Raph Horsey, Knight, the best house-keeper in Dorsetshire, a good freeholder, a deputie Lieutenant. Oh, sir, you keep hauks, and houndes, and hunting horses ; it may be some made fellowe will say, you must stand in the bath vp to the chinne, for spending fiue hundred poundes, to catch hares, and partridges that might bee taken for fiue pounds."—*A new discovrse of a stale svbject, called the Metamorphosis of Aiax*—printed 1596. —The story is more fully repeated in *Pasqvil's Iestes*, 1609, where it appears adapted to the manners of the times. " Howe a madde man in Gloucestershire answered a gentleman. In Glocestershire dwelt one that cured franticke men in this manner : When their fit was on them, hee would put them in a gutter of water, some to the knees, some to the middle, and some to the necke, as the disease was on them. So one that was well amended, standing at the gate, by chance, a gentleman came riding by with his hauks and his hounds. The fellow called him to him, and sayd : Gentleman, whither go you ? On hunting, quoth the gentleman.—What do you with all those kytes and dogges ? They be haukes and houndes, quoth the gentleman —Wherefore keep you them? quoth the other. Why, quoth hee, for my pleasure.—What do they cost you a yeere to keepe them ? Forty pounds : quoth the gentleman.—And what doe they profit you ? quoth he. Some ten pounds: quoth the gentleman.—Get thee quickly hence, quoth the fellow, for if my master find thee heere, he will put thee

of England *, called a Nyesse, Goshawk, Tassel, Laner, Laneret, or Faulcon, upon pain of forfeiture of his hawk to the king, and the said hawk to be at the king's pleasure: and that all such persons as bring any nyesse hawk, or hawks, from any the parties beyond the sea, bring a certificate under the customer's seal of the port where he first landed with the said hawk or hawks: or, if he come out of Scotland, then under the seal of the warden or his lieutenant of that march that he cometh through, testifying that the same hawk or hawkes be of the parties beyond the sea or of Scotland †,

into the gutter vp to the throat."—Our greatest modern falconer, the late Lord Orford, is supposed to have incurred the expence of near an hundred pounds, per annum, for every bird; each having a regular attendant, besides occasional voyages to the continent, as a more congenial atmosphere during the time of molting, to preserve the plumage and courage of the hawk.—(The story of the mad doctor is also to be found in Braithwaite's Complete Gentleman.)

* The following were the importation duties on Hawks, &c. payable in the reign of Henry viii.—

"Fawcon hawke, the hawke.—xl.*s*.—Goshaukes, the pece [i. e. the single bird.] xiii^{s}. iiii^{d}. —The tassell, vi^{s}. viii^{d}.—Hawkes heddes [q. military] the groce, iii^{s}. iiii^{d}.—Hernesewes the dossen, vi^{s}. viii^{d}.—Jarfaucon hauke, the hauke [no sum mentioned, the antecedent article xx^{d}. but it is uncertain if intended as a continuation.]—Leures for haukes, the pece iiii^{d}."—Extracted from a rare tract, entituled, *The rate of the custome house bothe inwarde and outwarde, &c. imprinted an.* M.D.XLV. reprinted *British Bibliographer*, vol. ii. 1811.

† I have not met with any general act passed in Scotland at this period, on the subject of hawking: though the want of game for the diversion, probably made the following curious one necessary. "That nane destroy heronesewis for thre zeiris. Item, it is statute and ordanit, that quhair ony heronis biggis or hes nestis within lordis, barronis, or vther landis within the realme, that for the space of thre zeiris nixt to cum, na maner of persoun or persounis, slay ony of the said heronis sewis, or destroy thair nestis, eggis, or birdis, induring the thre zeiris, with certificatioun, that it salbe a punct of dictay. And thay that beis conuict thairof, sall pay x puds of vnlaw to the king and dictay to be takin be the Justice Clerkis thairupon. And quhair it beis vnderstandin, that for the plesour of the kingis hienes ony persounnis keipis the said nestis, and suffers na persounis to destroy thame, thay sall haue thankes and fauouris of our Souerane Lord, as effeiris, and ane vnlaw to be geuin thairfoir." Ca. lxxx. *temp.* James IV. 1493. *Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpreuik*, the xxviij Nov. 1566.—In Ireland, as early as 1481 (20 Ed. IV.) it was enacted, that; "Whatsoever merchant shall carry any hawk out of Ireland, shall pay for every goshawk thirteen shillings and fourpence, for a tercell six shillings and eight pence, for a faulcon ten shillings, and the poundage

upon the same pain, and that the person that bringeth any such hawk or hawkes to the king shall have a reasonable reward of the king, or else the same hawk or hawks for his labour"*.

Under this singular and arbitrary measure there probably followed an artificial scarcity of hawks, as only foreign ones could be flown, and the participation of the "yeoman, poor man, and knave," in the diversion became entirely suspended †. The penalties went also to prevent any person, either on his own ground, or on that of another man, taking even the eggs of any faulcon, goshawk, or laner; and by a rigid or due enforcement of the law, the birds from the numerous eyries then kept, being to fly wild, might be expected to overstock the country and finally subject the race to proscription, like the Merton hawk ‡, at two pence a-head. An increase of the domestic species probably followed these enactments, and no doubt as the immediate fear of this rigorous and coercive law began to decline, the temporary difficulty thereby created served to increase and re-establish the popularity of hawking. That the diversion, in a few years, was more universally followed, is evident by a perspicuous writer, who

accordingly;" under penalty of forty shillings. *Abridgement of Irish Statutes*, 1754. The following slight notices occur in Lhoyd's *Historie of Cambria*. "In the yeare 1154, died, Stephen king of England, and Henrie Plantagenet the Empresse son was crowned in his steed. This Henrie was wise and learned and besides a worthie knight, he neuer ware gloue except he bare a hawke on his fist, and neuer sate but at his meate, and delited in hawking, hunting, riding, and in all honest exercises."—P. 149. King John, in 1212, "passing the riuer of Conwey, encamped there by the riuer side, and sent part of his armie with guides of the countrie to burne Bangor: who did so, taking Rotpert the bishop prisoner, who was afterward ransomed for 200 hawkes." P. 191. Edit. 1811.

* 11 Hen. 7. c. 17.

† The following summary of the common law has its value:—"It is true that none can make a park, chase, or warren without the King's license, for that is *quodam modo* to appropriate those creatures which are *feræ naturæ*, and *nullius in bonis* to himself and to restrain them of their natural liberty, which he cannot do without the King's licence, but for hawking, hunting, &c. which are matters of pastime, pleasure, and recreation, there needs no licence, but every one may, in his own land, use them at his pleasure, without any restraint to be made, unless by parliament, as appears by the statutes of 11 H. 7. c. 17.—23 Eliz. c. 10.—3 Jac. Regis, c. 13.—*Case of Monopolies, fo.* 87. *Cooke's Reports*, vol. vi.

‡ Was this the "Marlyon for the lady," and Merlin of the naturalists? Statute 8 Eliz. c. 15. gives "for euerie head of Merton-haukes, furse-kite, mould-kite, bussard, schag, carmerant or ringtaile, ij^{d}. and for euerie two eggs of them one penie."—See *Collection in English of the Statutes*, &c. printed by Wight, 1598.

describes it as " a right delectable solace," and laments that to provide the numerous birds with their customary food of hens almost threatened an extinction of the more valuable race of domestic poultry *.

It is well known that Henry the VIIIth's voluptuous attachment to Hawking had once nearly cost him his life: when absorbed in the pursuit of his diversion he fell into a muddy ditch, and was almost suffocated †. With a view, no doubt, of indulging in this sport within the purlieus of the royal palace, he issued a proclamation in the 27th year of his reign, reciting his great desire " to preserve the partridges, pheasants, and herons, from his palace at Westminster, to St. Gyles's in the Fields, from thence to Islington, Hamsted, Highgate, and Hornsey-park: and that if any person of any rank presumed to kill any of these birds, they were to be imprisoned, as also suffer such other punishments as to his highness should seem meet ‡.".

When an amusement ceases to interest, as a prevailing fashion, how many are found eager to discover either its inutility, or its insipidity; and to censure the attendant expence, with a self-congratulation on having withstood its influence and folly! Some may be inclined to ridicule the little excesses of the lovers of falconry, and all may smile at a customary observation, that it was the hour of birth which unfortunately entailed the amusement as a matter of destiny. Seriously are we told, " all men and women that been borne vnder the planet of Sol, ... if they be neuer so poore, yet shall they loue hawkynge and huntinge with houndes and hawkes, and reioyce to see it §."— Nor was birth, under the supposed sway of this king of planets, the only instance of celestial influence. A learned physician furnished the good folks of York, if not the kingdom in general, with an annual prognostication ‖ electing certain times to follow

* *The Boke named the Gouernor deuised by Sir Thomas Elyot, knyght*, 1531.

† *Hall's Union*, fol. 139. B. *Strutt's Sports and Pastimes*, C. II. s. viii.

‡ *Coll. of Procl. penes Soc. Antiq.* Vol. I. p. 210.—" Henry the 8 his stirrups: Haukes-hoods: Gloves:—Hawking-glove; and hawks-hood:" were articles in the *Museum Tradescantianum*, 1656.

§ *The compost of Ptholomeus, printed by Colwell, n. d.*

‖ A fragment, unnoticed by Herbert, is thus entitled:—" *A prognosticacion and an Almanacke ioyned together, declaryng the dysposicion of the people, and also of the wether, with certayne electyons, and tymes chosen, both for Phisike and Surgerye, and for the husbandman, and also for hawekyng, huntyng, fyshyng, and foulynge, accordyng to the science of Astronomy made for the yeare of oure Lorde God, M. D. L. calculed for the merydyan of Yorke, and practised by Anthony* [Ascham] *Phi* [cition] Col. *Imprynted at London in Fletestrete, at the signe of the George, nexte to saynt Dunstone's churche, by Wyllyam Powell. Cum, &c.*

hawking, as well as other amusements, according to the science of astronomy.—Such idle and now ludicrous opinions obtained currency about 1550 *.

A manuscript in the British Museum may here be noticed. It is dated "in January in the iiij & v. yere of the reigne of our soucreyne lorde & lady Philipe and Mary," wherein William Reed of Tewksbury, or Mytton; at the earnest request of Sir John Pollard, Knight, wrote the things he most desired to learn "towchynge the governance ande goode kepynge off hawkes." His information is only suited to the ostreger, while his pages are so curiously exemplified with the pen, that it may be doubted if the copying did not require more labour than the composing. Indeed, the whole was too important for one generation to complete, and the task of finishing was left to his son. He candidly observes, "I have wrytten the best I have, many mo poynts I colde wrytt of, wch thyngs are comonly ewysyd, wch were but tedyouse to wrytt & but noysome to rede †." This judicious truism may in part be applied to every other treatise. But plain unvarnished instructions, where the authors dwell with unnecessary tediousness on successive scenes of disease and dirtiness, cannot justify a presumption of the practice being equally disgusting with the recital. Such an opinion would censure too large a portion of the nobility and gentry who flourished contemporary with the above writer, and who were uniform in considering themselves "bound to do nothyng els but to hunt and hauke ‡." These treatises, from the requisite detail

* In the following year an act passed at Edinburgh, "anent thame that schutis with gunnis at Deir and wylde foulis .... quhair throw the nobill men of the realme can get na pastyme of halking and hunting, lyke as hes bene had in tymes bypast; be ressoun that all sic wylde beistis and wylde foulis ar exilit and banist be occasioun foirsaid. And fore remeid heirof it is deuisit .... that nane of our Souerane Ladyis liegis, of whatsumeuer degre he be of, take vpone hand to schute at Deir, Ra, or vther wylde beistis, or other wylde foulis with half hag, culuering or pistolate in ony tymes to cum, vnder the pane of deid, and confication of all thair gudis for their contemptioun," &c. Lekpreuik's *Statutes* ut sup.

† Bib. Harl. 676.

‡ A controversial writer whose work was printed abroad, *temp.* Q. Mary, says: "There hath rysen vp of late, after the puttyng downe of the hodded and couled monkes, another kynd of coulless monkes, much more precise and earnester in theyr monkery then the olde monkes, whyche holde nowe that it is vnlawfull for a Christen man to exercyse any kynde of playe or pastyme, & therfore vtterly condemne Huntyng. I, in dede; I, for my parte, am not of that opinion that the moste parte of gentylmen of Englande be of, whych thynke, that a lorde or a gentylman is bound to do nothyng els but to hunt and hauke, and to occupye suche lyke pastymes. Neuerthelesse I thynke that a gentleman may hunt and hauke, and exercyse

must prove in some degree nauseating. In directions for the medical economy of an animal, however inoffensive, disgust follows a perusal of the chronicle of diseases; but the man who would seriously condemn our ancestors for this pursuit, upon the bare recital of the propensities of the hawk, might be expected in the next instance to be frightened from society, on beholding the register of a spittal *.

The second parliament held after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, passed an act which recites, that her majesty, as also the noblemen, gentlemen, and divers other persons of great dominions and possessions had "breeding within their woods and grounds, divers eyries of hawks of sundry kinds, to their great pleasure and commodity:" and subjected the party taking any of the birds or the eggs of them out of such grounds, to imprisonment for three months, besides treble damages †. It is uncertain what occasioned such an amelioration of the penal law, being, theretofore, "imprisonment of a year and a day, and fine at the king's will ‡:" nor did the act pass without censure. It was obliquely glanced at for having been "with much diligence observed and looked unto," while matters to further a reverence of the Creator, were "too much neglected §." Such a notice shows the sudden and general popularity of the measure, and that lightening these arbitrary shackles afforded the citizens a readier opportunity to indulge in their favourite amusement ‖. If such was the partial result,

suche lyke pastymes, so that he occupy it measurably, and be not hyndered therby from such workes of hys vocation, as by the lawe of God he is bounde to exercyse." Dedication to *The Hunting of the Romyshe Vuolfe made by Vuylliam Turner doctour of Phisik, &c.*

* Hawks as well as Herons were of little value beyond the diversion, and they were alike forbidden by the Mosaic law. *Levit.* Chap. xi. It is true, the heron being young and fat was once preferred to the crane, as of lighter digestion, being eaten with much ginger or pepper, and to have good old wine drank after it. Eliot's *Castle of Health*, B. ii. For the hawks their value ceased with life. "All the while they be aliue, and be strong and mightie to take their pray, they [are] beloued of theyr lordes, and borne on handes, and set on pearches and stroken on the breast, and on the tayle, and made plaine and smoothe, and be norished with great businesse and diligence: but when they be dead, all men hold them vnprofitable and nothing worth, and be not eaten, but rather throwen out on dounghills." *Batman vppon Bartholome, his booke de Proprietatibus Rerum.* 1582. fo. 178.

† Stat. Eliz. 5. c. xxi. sect. iii.

‡ Stat. Hen. 7. c. xvii.

§ Dedication to "*A Sword against Swearers and Blasphemers*, &c. by Edmund Bicknoll; cited in Churton's *Life of Dean Nowell*, 1809, p. 66.

‖ The participation of the wealthy citizen in this amusement, was in consequence of the

the practice never debased it from a royal pursuit. In 1575 Turbervile, in his treatise, gives a representation of Elizabeth, on horseback, viewing the diversion; and if this was only a gaude for his book *, it is certain Sir Ralph Sadler, while the unfortunate Mary was under his care, had to justify himself † for venturing, without leave, to indulge his royal prisoner in the gratification of "hawking vpon the river ‡." —Something like the too fatal confidence of this state-victim seems to have flitted across the mind of the author of the following air, which was printed shortly after Mary's death.

Forest Charter, whereby "every freeman shall have *within his own woods*, ayries of hawks, sparrow-hawks, faulcons, eagles and herons."

* Which appears probable; as in the following reign the same wood cuts were altered from Queen Elizabeth to King James. In 1578-9, we find the Barones Paget Darce, presenting the Queen as a new year's gift, with "a small cheyne of golde, hanging at it, on thone side a white doue, and on thother syde a hawke with a button white enamuled." *Progresses*, Vol. iii. p. 97*.

† See Sir Ralph Sadler's *State Papers*, 1810, Vol. ii. p. 538.

‡ Hawking at the river follows next to the flight at the heron as a favourite diversion. It is related of Edward the Third, that "the kynge had a xxx faukoners a horsback with haukes, and a lx. couple of houndes and as many greyhoundes; so that nere euery day eyther he hunted or hauked at the ryuer, as it pleased hym. And diuers other of the great lordes had houndes and haukes, as well as the kyng." *Lord Berners' Froissart*, 1523. Vol. i. ch. 210. fo. 103. The same subject is described by Gawin Douglass: who, in the prologue to the fourth book of his translation of *Virgil*, printed 1553, has

"The wery huntar, to fynd his happy pray,
The falconere riche ryuir vnto fleyne;
The clerk reiosys, his bukis ouer to seyne;
The luffar to behald his lady gay."

Again: in the *Palace of Honour*, also printed by Copland.—

——— al maner disportys,
The falkonnis for the reuere; at thair gate
Mew and the fowlys, in periculo mortis;
Layand thaym in be companeis and sortis:
And at the plunge part saw I handlyt hate
The wery huntare, byssy ayr and late
Wyth questyng hundis syrchand to and fra,
To hunt the harte, the bare, the da, the ra.

The greedy hawke, with sooden sight of lure,
  Doth stoope, in hope to have her wished pray;
So many men do stoope to sights vnsure,
  And courteous speach doth keepe them at the bay:
Let them beware least frendly lookes belyke
  The lure, whereat the soring hawke did strike *.

Another proof that this diversion was followed with undiminished interest, occurs in the will of Frederick, fourth Lord Windsor, who died in 1585. That nobleman made special bequests of his best and his next best hawks, previous to the gifts of either his jennet or courser †. Indeed, during the remainder of the century the passion for Falconry continued general and unabated. This prevalence did not escape repeated attacks and censure; but the voice of the moralist was not heeded ‡, and the sermon of

* To be found with *Songs of sundrie natures, some of gravitie and others of myrth, &c.* By William Byrd, 1589.

† "He bequeaths to his very good Lord the Lord Admiral of England (Earl of Nottingham) a nest of bowles of silver gilt, of the price of twenty pounds, or better, as a token of his thankfulness for all his friendships; also to the Lord Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, his best hawke, which he thinks to be the haggard; to George Farmour, Esq. his next best hawke; to the Lord Thomas Howard, his white jennet; to his good friend William Cornwallis, Esq. his grey courser; to his good friend John Packington, Esq. his best brown bay horse." *Ex Regist, Windsor, n* 69. *Qu.* 1. *in Cur. Prærog. Cant.* or *Collins's Peerage*, Art. Windsor, Earl of Plymouth in Vol. iii. of Sir Egerton Brydges' edition.

‡ The following censure on this diversion occurs in one of Petrarch's dialogues, in an answer of Reason to Joy, when the latter had declared the delight in fowls that fly.—"They wyll flye away and contemne thy pleasure, and not knowe thee, and vnthankfully be deafe when thou callest them. What shouldest thou do that wantest feathers, seeyng thy pleasure is winged: Imagine that they returned, the taking of them would be hurtfull: thou wouldest cal againe, and forgetting thy more profitable affaires, loose thy time. Agayne, looking backe, and castyng thine eyes vp to the cloudes after thy foolyshe byrde, perhappes thou wilt weepe, as though there were no necessarie woorke to be doone in this lyfe, by reason of the pleasure whiche you fynde by your idlenesse and slouth, ye glorie in that ye are slaues to your byrdes. Nature hath geuen you two handes, with the one ye rule the bird, the other you trouble with crooked talentes. So being idle on al sides, & being come lame with desire to flie, to the end ye may not seme to do any thing with great noyse, ye ryse before day, and sodeinly run out of the doores, as though the enimies were at the threshold, and all the day after ye run about the pondes and waters, woodes, and bushes, filling the ayre with sundry outcries

the divine was heard with apathy; although it was proclaimed that "many men in their death-beds wish with teares that they had hawked, and hunted, and plaied, and laboured, and loued, and hated much lesse *." Even the irony of dramatic † wit, and galling shafts of ridicule and satire, fell without visible trace or effect ‡.

and euil fauoured houlinges. And in this pastime ye spende your breath, whiche is meete for some greater matter; with whiche spirite your forefathers made their enimies afearde in battayle, and in peace mainteyned iustice. At nyght when ye come home, as though ye had atchieued some great enterprice, ye syt within doores, declaryng howe well that byrde flue, and how well this byrde hath endued his meate: How many feathers of the trayne, and how many of the winges are remaining or lost. Is not this all your skyll? is not this your loue? is not this your felicitie? and is not this al whiche ye requite to God your Creator, to your countrey that bredde you, to your parentes that begate you, to your freendes that loue you, to wit, your Sparhawkes, or your Hernshawes skimming in the ayre, and some peece of a torne foule, and swet, and dust, and your nyghtly storie of your lost daie? Vnto this ye be alwayes valient and vnweeried, and vnto earnest businesse, weake and daintie." *Phisicke against Fortune, as well prosperous as aduerse:—Written in Latine by Francis Petrarch, englished by Thomas Twyne.* 1579. B. I. Dialogue xxxii. 4to.

* *Time's Lamentation:* by the learned naturalist and divine, Ed. Topsell, 1599.

† See Act I. of Ben Jonson's Comedy of *Every Man in his Humour*, first acted 1598.—An anonymous dramatist also burlesques the fashion in the following passsage. "*Amoretto.* —For you Iacke, I would haue you imploy your time till my comming, in watching what houre of the day my hawke mutes. (*Exit.*) *Page.* Is not this an excellent office to bee Apothecary to his worship's hawks, to sit scouting on the wall, how the phisicke workes; and is not my maister an absolute villaine, that loues his hawke, his hobby, and his grey-hound, more than any mortall creature? Do but dispraise a feather of his hawkes traine, and he writhes his mouth, and sweares (for hee can doe that onely with a good grace) that you are the most shallowe braind fellow that liues: do but say his horse stales with a good presence, and hee's your bond slaue: When he returns Ile tell twenty admirable lies of his hawke, and then I shall be his little roague, and his white villaine for a whole week after. Well let others complaine, but I thinke there is no felicity, to the seruing of a foole." *The Retvrne from Parnassvs*, 1606.

‡ Look into your sportes of hauking and hunting (says Sir John Harrington) of which noble recreations, the noble Sir Phylip Sidney was wont to say, that next hunting, he liked hauking worst; but the faulconers and hunters would bee euen with him, and say, that these bookish fellowes, such as he, could iudge of no sports, but within the verg of the fair fields of Helicon, Pindus, and Parnassus. Now I wolde aske you, Sir, least you should think I neuer read Sir Tristrā, do you not some time (beside the fine phrase or rather metaphor of mewing a woodcock,) talke both of putting a heron to the mount, and thē of his slicing? tell of spring-

At the commencement of the seventeenth century came forth the elaborate instructions of King James to his son, wherein the pedantic monarch half censures the diversion of hawking *. But there is a memorable incident in his own life which, if correct, might have entitled the sport to more favourable notice †; and, perhaps, this opinion was expressed to attach popularity to his work, from a skirmish with the prevailing fashion, without any serious attempt to check the amusement. He neither discountenanced presents to himself of hawks ‡; nor discontinued the many falconers attached to the courtly establishment §.

ing a pheasant and a partridge, and finde them out by their dropping? Doe you not further, to iudge of your haukes health, looke on her castings? If it *he* [be] blacke at one ende, and the rest yellowe, you feare shee hath the philanders: if it be all blacke, you shall see and smell shee is not sound: lastly you haue a speciall regard to obserue, if shee make a cleane mute. Moreouer for hunting, when you haue harbour'd a stagge, or lodged a bucke, doth not the keeper, before he come to rouze hym frō his lodging (not without some ceremony) shew you his femishing, that therby you may iudge if he be a seasonable deare? And soone after followes the melodious crie of the hounds, which the good Lady could not heare, because the dogs kept such a barking; and whē al this is don, and you are rehearsing at dinner what great sporte you haue had: in the middest, of your sweet meates, in comes Melampus, or Ringwood that sang the base in the morning, & in the return home, lighted vpon some poudred vermin, & laies a chase vnder the table, that makes al as sweet as any suger-carrion; and all this you willingly bear with because it is your pastime." *A new Discourse, &c. ut sup.*

* "As for hawking (he observes) I condemne it not, but I must praise it more sparingly, because it neither resembleth the warres so neere as hunting doth, in making a man hardy, and skilfully ridden in all groundes; and is more vncertaine and subject to mischances; and, which is worst of all, is there through an extreme stirrer vp of passions." *His Maiesties instrvctions to his dearest sonne Henry the Prince, London*, 1603.

† When James was attacked by Gowry, it is related that John Ramsey, "having his hawke on his fist, casts her off and steps into Gowry, and stabs him to the heart." *Aulus Coquinariæ, or a vindication in answer to a Pamphlet entitvled The Court and Character of King James, &c.* 1650.

‡ "Maister Cromwell presented his Maiestie with many rich and acceptable gifts, as a very great, and a very fair wrought standing cup of gold, goodly horses, floate and deepe mouthed houndes, diuers hawkes of excellent wing, and at the remove gaue 50 pounds amongst his Majesties officers." *The true narration of the Entertainment of his royall Maiestie from the time of his departure from Edenbrough till his receiuing at London.* 1603. See *The Progresses*, Vol. iii.

§ "There was Robert Lord Dormer, Master Falconer to the King, his fee 44*£*. *per*

Of Prince Henry, warned by his father against it, as an "extream stirrer up of the passions *," his biographer relates, that "whenever he went out to hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care, that none should pass through the corn; and, to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong about †." The attention and manners of this noble, gallant, but short-lived prince, interest on every occasion. On an examination of this very slight and inconsiderable matter, it will be found to unite a protection of the subject, and a silent admonition to his followers to respect and give energy to existing laws ‡.

With the more ill-fated brother, Charles, this diversion seems to have been rarely pursued; however, he sported his hawks on visiting the Court of Spain, where it might be esteemed as a necessary appendage to royal grandeur, and princely accomplishment §.

Singular and inconsistent were the opinions that too long prevailed on the nature and extent of the education and acquirements necessary for the instruction of the gentry.

mensem, which is *per annum* 528£. More to him as Master-Falconer to the King within the mannor of Elmer, in Com. Buck. 18^{d}. *per diem*; £27. 7^{s}. 6^{d}." Eight other Falconers at 5^{s}.-2^{s}. 6^{d}.-2^{s}.-18^{d}.-16^{d}. and 12^{d}. *per diem*, with an allowance for liveries: Two at £40. *per ann.* "To Eustace Norton, Faulconer to the prince, *per annum*, £30.; more to him by way of increase 12^{d}. *per diem*, £18. 5^{s}.—Total *per annum* £981. 14^{s}. 4^{d}. See Abstract of his Majesty's revenue, at the end of *Truth brought to Light by Time*, &c. 1651.

* Braithwait tells a story of a Falconer weaning his inclination from the sport by flying a lazy Haggard. *Gentleman's Recreation*, 1630, p. 172.

† Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, 1760, p. 398.

‡ Hawking from Easter until the corn was shorn, was prohibited in Scotland as early as 1555, and in England in 1581. Vide Stat. 23 Eliz. c. 10. § iv.

§ It is mentioned among his other amusements in a very rare tract: "On the two next daies being Wednesday and Thursday [12th and 13th March, 1623] there was not much done of particular and externall note. The mornings were spent by his Highnesse in giuing order for his owne priuate affaires; and the afternoones, for the most part, in recreating himselfe abroad in the fields; the Earle of Bristoll waiting on him with his hawkes. Onely vpon the Thursday night after supper, there were sent to his highnesse to entertaine the time, choice persons both of men and women selected out of foure companies of Comedians, who danced several kinds of dances before him, and spent about two houres therein." *A Trve Relation and Jovrnall of the manner of the Arrivall and magnificent Entertainment, giuen to the high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Great Britaine, by the King of Spaine, in his Court at Madrid. Published by authority*, &c. 1623. 4to.

And the language used, *temp.* Henry the VIIIth, " that it was for noblemen's sonnes enough to winde their horne, and carry their hawke faire, and to leave study and learning to the children of meane men * ;" yet remained a maxim upheld by aristocracy. What a degradation of birth, of family merit, and what contempt for mental acquirements! What a lamentable record of the triumph of folly and ignorance! that it should be said of the younger brood of gentry, they " either for want of education in learning, or their owne neglect of learning, have no sooner attained to the strength of making their fist a perch for a hawke, but by the helpe of some bookes of faulconry, whereby they are instructed in the words of art, they will run division upon discourse of this pleasure: whereas if at any time they be interrupted by occasion of some other conference, these High-flyers are presently to bee mewed up, for they are taken from their element †." Again, in farther confirmation of this obsolete whim; " Ignorance, (says an author) is thought an essential marke of a nobleman by many; (and) if a young childe loueth not an hawke and a dogge while he sitteth vpon his nurse's lap, it is a token, saie they, he degenerates ‡." More calm and equally conclusive are the observations of a scholar, in a modest preface to his translation of the Eclogues of Virgil, now little known. " Take them (he says) as the pastime of my pastimes, and the recreations and interims, which in my younger time, I reserved from sports and pleasure, especially that bewitching inticement of hawkes, and hawking, which have flowne away with so much of my most pretious time; and wherein the greatest and best part of the young nobility and gentry of this land, (by an ill-received and worse continued custome) doe ravl'e out a great part of their goulden dayes, as if the *terminus ad quem*, the end of all their careful and chargeable education, at home and abroad, were onely to make them ripe and fit for the slavish service of Hawkes and Hounds, and other poorer sports and pleasures, whose rare and seldome use is indeed their greatest commendation §." Well might it be exclaimed: " It is farre vnfit for true Nobilitie to be educated in an idle course of life, and trained up onely to hunt, to hawke, or daunce, or drinke, or court, or play, (the ordinarie exercise in these dege-

* See the memorable answer of Richard Pace, among the wise speeches of that reign, in *Camden's Remains*, 1623, p. 248.

† Brathwait's *English Gentleman*, 1630, p. 221.

‡ *The Institution of a young Nobleman*, by James Cleland, Oxford, 1607. This writer was one of several that re-echoed the Basilicon Doron of King James.

§ *Virgil's Eclogves translated into English by W. L. Gent.* 1628, 8*vo.*

nerate times) when the contrary is injoyned them; as if it were expressed in their patent *, vnder the forfeiture of their honours †!"

A multitude of occasional notices are to be gathered up from our early poets and miscellaneous writers. But from this profusion I have selected only a few ‡.

John Stephens, of Lincoln's-Inn, gives a humorous description of a falconer; calling him "the egge of an ordinary Goose-woman, hatcht up amongst hawkes and spaniels (and that) his learning makes him a new linguist; for to have studied and practised the termes of Hawkes' Dictionary is enough to excuse his wit, manners, and humanity §."—John Davies, of Hereford, places this amusement among the expences of a prodigal, and observes that the he-galants, vaunt

"Whose hawk flew best, what hound most glory won?" ‖

Hagthorpe makes the sons of opulence slaves to pleasure, and

"their time mispend,
Onely deuising pleasures new for her:
Those that the hawkes, or those the horses tend;
Or else the dogges, Troy, Hector, Ringwood, Pirr ¶:

Randolph, who died 1634, invites his friend Anthony Stafford to partake of rural pursuits: saying—

"We will all sports enjoy, which others but desire:
ours is the skie,
Where at what fowl we please our hawk shall fly:" **

To proceed chronologically ††, there may be noticed that highly tinted sketch of this

* So in Bishop Earle's character of an upstart knight: "A hawk he esteems the true burden of nobility, and is exceeding ambitious to seem delighted in the sport, and have his fist gloved with his jesses." See the valuable new edition of *Microcosmography*, 1811, p. 54.

† *The Belgicke Pismire, by Thomas Scot*, 1623.

‡ Notices from Spenser, Drayton, &c. are intentionally omitted.

§ *Essayes and Characters ironicall and instructive*, 1615.

‖ *Wits Bedlam*, 1617.

¶ *Visiones Rervm, the Visions of Things*, 1623.

** *Poems*, by Thomas Randolph, *edit.* 1668, p. 55.

†† Some notice is due to an anonymous and scarce writer, who has drawn a witty character

royal sport, inserted in the first act of the Guardian. Massinger with the science of the Falconer combined the strength and brilliance of the poet; but the scene is of

of the hawk, and which not being easy of abridgment, must plead its genuine humour as the best apology for its insertion and length.

" The Hawk (he says) is a noble bird, and if the Eagle be royally descended, and of the bloud, hee is one of the Peeres of that Monarchy, that would put in for the Crown, if that line failed. The truth is, he is a companion for a prince, who will not stick sometimes as a favour to take him by the hand; yea, that hand, which every one strives to kisse, will not disdaine to kisse his foot, and be his footstoole. He is such a courtier that a Clown will commit you a thousand absurdities in his language, but only to speake of him, much lesse know how to demeane himselfe in his presence, and to give him his dues. He is so punctuall and precise in all things, as he hath a peculiar language, as it were, to himselfe, so as hardly hee hath a feather about him, that hath not his proper appellation. There is a world of distinct families sprung from the ancient stock of the Hawkes, while there are no yeomen amongst them, being all daintily bred. The femals, which are the wives with them, do weare the breeches, the Males having yeelded up the right of superiority to them, as being the true Amazons of that species. They are chast and loyall enough to their mates, nor will easily stain the marriage-bed; but the male is fain to play the cocquain at home to look to the house, while the good wife herselfe will go to the market to seeke provision, or hunt for the purpose. They go in severall habits, some with long sleeves, they call wings; other shorter, and so are stiled short or long wing'd Hawkes, according to their habits, but, so as constant ever, in the fashion they once take up. They have excellent Taylors when need is to mend their cloathes, who will put you peeces so cunningly in, that they shall not be perceived. Hoods are a great fashion with them, which terme they keep common with us; but for their bootes, they call them Gesses, to distinguish them from ours. They are very forgetfull, for being tied so fast by the heeles, they never think of it, but will offer to fly away an hundred times an houre. She hath so curious a pallat of her owne, as she will not trust any cooke to dresse her fowle for her, but will plume and pick it herselfe with an admirable dexterity. If she be high with too much ease, and grow pursie, shee will physick herselfe, and take a vomit, and thereby come as sound as a Bell. She hath a piercing and rowling eye in her head, but no wanton, being so honest: otherwise shee were like enough to have many paramours, who goes so much abroad at her owne pleasure. When she goes a hunting, shee is well attended with many that go with chaines about their necks, by two and two, which they call couples, where they doe nothing but serve her, and put up her game; yea, the best man in the company will not refuse to toyle and sweat to shew her sport, and of all they take, she is first serv'd. They are somewhat fantasticall, and as their manner is, will take a toy now and then and go strait beyond seas without a licence, or taking leave of their friends ere they go, where when they come, or

easy reference, and I reluctantly omit the beautiful and accurate delineation of an adept *.—Glapthorne, in a dedication, tells his patron: "Had I bin endow'd with such blessings (noble young man) I should have presented you a wel man'd hawke, or an excellent courser; gifts, because more agreeable to your disposition, more fit to have bin tendred you †."—Nor did the fertile county of Hertford loose its influence on this occasion ‡: Heywood says—

"Barnet is a place of great resort,
And commonly vpon the market dayes,
Heere all the countrey gentlemen appoint
A friendly meeting: some about affaires
Of consequence and profit; bargaine, sale,
And to conferre with chap-men; some for pleasure,
To match their horses; wager in their dogs;
Or trie their hawkes; some, to no other end,
But onely meet good company, discourse,
Dine, drinke, and spende their money §."

During the civil war this "Aeriall hunting" rapidly declined, still, however preserving its original character as "not for mean persons; yet a generous exercise as well for variety of deprædators as preys ‖." No doubt the revolution served to establish the utility and confirm the fashion of using the musquet, while the crude opi-

returne againe, they are held as passengers and great travellers, and happy he who can get them into his service: they never stirre no way but the bels ring. They are watcht sometimes, they are so unhappy, especially when they have not sowed all their wilde Oats. If they bee once reclaimed from their debauchments, they prove notable convertyts, and very obedient to the cure."—*Strange Metamorphosis of Man*, 1634.

* *Works of Massinger*, by Gyfford, vol. iv. p. 136.

† *Hollander*, a comedy, written 1635, printed 1640.

‡ As recently as 1808, the present Earl of Essex dates a notice from Cashiobury to warn the Hon. and Rev. William Capel not thereafter to "hunt, hawk, course, shoot, fish, &c." upon certain lands. See *an account of the trial between George Earl of Essex, plaintiff, and the Hon. and Rev. William Capel, defendant*, 1810.

§ *English Traveller*, by T. Heywood, 1633.

‖ *Horæ Vacivæ, or Essays, &c.* by John Hall, 1646.

nions of the sectaries further assisted to decry hawking along with other diversions *. It was not entirely neglected in the gay reign of Charles II. and was preferred by him as a field diversion suited to the convenience and gaiety of his mistresses †. This adoption had only a temporary effect; a chasm appears after the close of the reign of

* A death-blow seems to have been attempted by those "gospel trumpeters," the Presbyterians, who had now thrust themselves into the pulpits, and, like the sectarists of the present day, by their rigid notions and unsound declamations, strove to abolish every recreation. These hypocritical dispensers of doctrines founded upon ignorance, and only supported by novelty, early discovered the necessity of preventing their proselytes from continuing to hold the usual intercourse with society. If established customs and amusements had not been prohibited, reason would too quickly have resumed its dominion, and common sense have displaced common impostors. While these sectarians reign, "they will approve of nought but what they invent themselves. They make matter of conscience of them (as my author says) and will rather forsake their livings than subscribe to them. They will admit of no holy-dayes, or honest recreations; as hawking, hunting, cards, tables, because some haue abused them." Their anathemas did not, however, entirely prevent hawking from being a source of amusement to the well qualified gentleman, and the same writer classes it as one of "the exercises without doors." See *The Gentleman's Companion: or a Character of true Nobility and Gentility, in the Way of Essay. By a Person of Quality*, 1672. This date shews rather more than a partial continuation of the amusement. And we have passed Isaac Walton, who after the first appearance of the *Compleat Angler*, 1653, aware of the imperfection of his work, added an entire new character in Auceps, the Falconer; whom he contrives in his perambulation, to leave at Theobalds: another instance of Falconry being much followed in Hertfordshire. Walton's omission may be traced, by comparing the original, or late accurate reprint thereof, (1810) with either of the others. By the foregoing premises it may be inferred, that however the ardour for hawking was materially slackened, yet it survived the inter-regnum with some popularity. In Scotland it must have been followed with avidity. As late as 1685 many of the strictest limitations were revived. A statute of that year enacts: 'Whoever shall steal a hawk out of the nest, or take a collar from a dog's neck, or vervel from a hawk, with the master's name on it, shall be fined in the sum of 500 merks; and whoever shall give away or sell any hawk or dog which is not his own, shall be fined in the sum of £100 Scots; the person who takes possession of a dog, having a collar with the master's name as aforesaid, or hawks with bells or vervels, must cause book the same within forty-eight hours, in the sheriff's clerk's books, under the penalty of £40 Scots, and if the dog or hawk be not claimed within six months, it shall be his property for ever." *Statute Law of Scotland abridged.* 1757. Oct.

† The king, "of all the diversions of the chace, likes none but hawking, because it is the most convenient for the ladies." *Memoirs of Count Grammont*, 1811. Vol. ii. p. 279.

that monarch, and, with its discontinuance, it was almost as suddenly forgotten. A few years disuse of the art, made instructions for it want both interest and utility *. It was attempted to be revived with the costliness and spirit of an English nobleman †, by the eccentric George Earl of Orford, who died in 1791. From that revival it boasts at present a partial existence; in Yorkshire the establishment of Colonel Thornton has long been popular, and, I am informed, it finds support in Norfolk from Sir John Sebright, Mr. Downes, and Mr. Fowler, yet too limited not to consider the hawk more a bird of prey than of pleasure ‡.

Many curious traits of falconry are widely dispersed in modern books, and the subject needs a general compilation. It has a *slight* national claim from the presumed tale of the Danish invasion §, and from forming a regal pursuit through a long succession of English monarchs: but a few desultory anecdotes, that amuse, without affording any useful view of the subject; and the narrow limits of a summary, contain all the memorials hitherto bestowed on hawking ‖. The above imperfect outline of its

* Thus, in *the Compleat Sportsman*, by Giles Jacob, 1718, "The diversion of hawking, by reason of the trouble and expence in keeping and breeding the hawk, and the difficulty in the management of her in the field, is in a great measure disused: especially since sportsmen are arrived to such a perfection in shooting, and so much improved in the making of dogs, which facilitates the pleasures in taking all sorts of game. I therefore shall take no notice of it." p. 29.

† Modern leases, in Surrey and other counties, often retain a right for the landlord "with servants and others in company to hawk, hunt, fish, and fowl:" but such technical forms are slender authority, as they are not unfrequently continued without variation, for a series of years after the primary object is forgotten.

‡ A letter, dated Cornwall, Jan. 1795, signed "Auceps," appeared in the Gent. Mag. of that year, (p. 108.) describing a mode for taking hawks, or larger birds of prey, by means of a trap cage baited with small birds. By referring to *A Sporting Tour through France*, by Colonel Thornton, 1806, vol. ii. p. 230, the novice in literature will either discover the author of that letter, or a plagiarist, and the reference will amuse the eye with a view of some elegant "Hawks' Houses at Thornville Royal."

§ See Verstegan's *Restitution of decayed Intelligence*, 1605, *p.* 159. and Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, C. 2.

‖ There may be consulted the translation of the *History of many memorable things lost, &c. by Pancerollus*, 1715. Vol. I. C. 23; Warton's *Observations on Spenser*, and *History of English Poetry*, Vol. ii. 221. Strutt, *ut supra; The Zoological Works of Pennant, Wood*, and *Shaw*; The Notes on *More's Utopia by Dibdin*, 1810; *Censura Literaria*, Vol. IX.; and *Essays by a Society of Gentlemen at Exeter*, 1796, where there is a dis-

history from the time of De Worde's publication, is rather the gleaning of distinct and detached research among authorities still preserved, than a regular abridgement of all that is requisite to put the reader fully in possession of the singular and long-continued enthusiasm of the nobility in pursuing this once royal diversion. As the popular favourite, no doubt, the Treatise upon Hawking was placed first in the present volume; and there continued with undisputed superiority, beyond the limits that many pursuits, depending on the caprice and fashion of society, extend to.—However, the period is arrived when our knowledge of the different species of the birds is only obtained from the records of the naturalist*; when the favourite hawker† is almost a stranger to the hand; and the diversion, instead of taking precedence of Hunting and Angling, to which, from its antiquity, it seems entitled, is without sufficient advocates to obtain it even a third position among our domestic sports and pastimes.

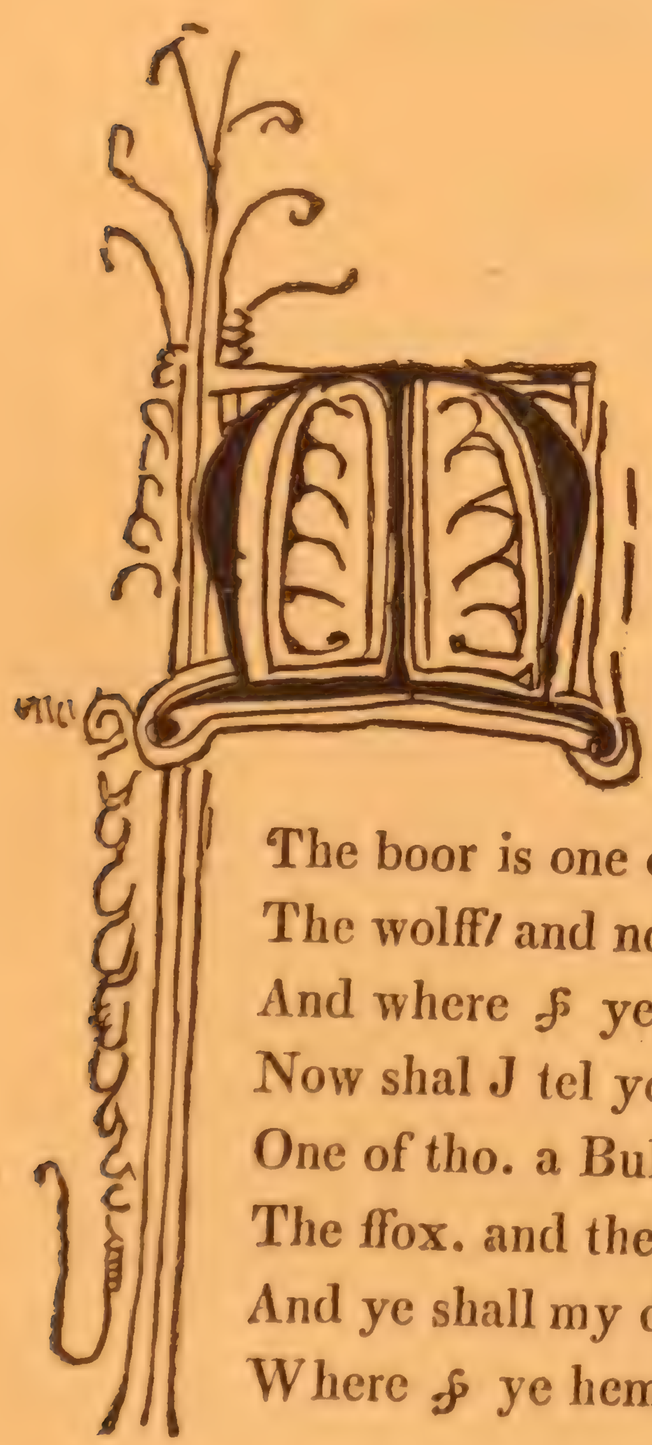
tinct paper on the "Historical Outlines of Falconry."—For an account of the ancient customary honours bestowed on a successful Falconer in Wales, see Introduction to Meyrick's *History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan*, 1810, p. clxxxiii. And for a calculation of the extraordinary value of a hawk beyond that of a courser, according to the present value of money, and the sums mentioned in *Doom's-day Book*, see Nichols's *Leicestershire*, Vol. I. p. xxxix.

* For the most ample enumeration, see Dr. Shaw's *General Zoology*, Vol. vii. p. 1. who has above 150 distinct birds of the Falcon genus. He considers them as "constituting five tribes or families, viz. Eagles, Falcons, Kites, Buzzards, and Hawks."—A gentleman who often partook of the diversion with Lord Orford, tells me: It was considered doubtful whether the hawk killed the hare with the bill or breast-bone, or with its talons. If the hare was struck on the head, it fell without a wound; but if struck at the scut, the skin of the back was usually whirled up like a roll of new cut turf.

† The hawker was probably an improvement on the "tabur stycke" of the Book of St. Alban's (sig. c iiij) and the "little rownde stycke hanging in a little string," mentioned by Turbervile (p. 100). It is about 22 inches long, the handle of wood, and upper part cased with iron, having a bell, rather of sullen tone than musical, and the figure of a bird at the top. The following is an accurate delineation of one in the editor's possession, which might have been used early in the 17th century.

Of the Treatise upon Hunting.

THE title of "Dame Julyans Barnes," to this article, is derived from the editor of the Book of St. Albans, who has affixed her name to the poem; and the claim remains unimpeached. It contains a mass of scientific instructions, hitched into rhyme, and which an elegant modern writer observes, "has no resemblance to poetry *." It is addressed to the followers of that amusement, as a convenient assistant in learning the proper terms of venery; and several copies, in MS. are probably yet in preservation †. That in the Bodleian, mentioned by Warton, H. E. P. ii. 171. and there termed "*a good manuscript*" differs considerably from the St. Albans edition. It contains the *Hunting only*, and is a distinct poem, destitute of the prose introduction, and the heads of the chapters found in the printed copies. Its authenticity and age are undoubted. It commences



i dere sones where ye fare be frith or by fell
Take good hede in his tyme. How tristrem̄ wol tell
How many maner bestes of venery there were
Listenes now to oure dame. and ye shullen̄ here.
Ffowre maner bestes of venery there are
The first of hem is. a hert. ye second is an hare
The boor is one of tho
The wolff/ and no mo
And where þ ye comen̄ in play or in place
Now shal J tel you which ben bestes of chace
One of tho. a Buk/ another a doo
The ffox. and the marteryn̄. and the wilde roo
And ye shall my dere sones oyer bestes all
Where þ ye hem finde. rascall hem call

* *Specimens of Early English Poets*, by George Ellis, vol. i.

† The late Rev. Mr. Ashby collected some notes on the subject of this work, which have

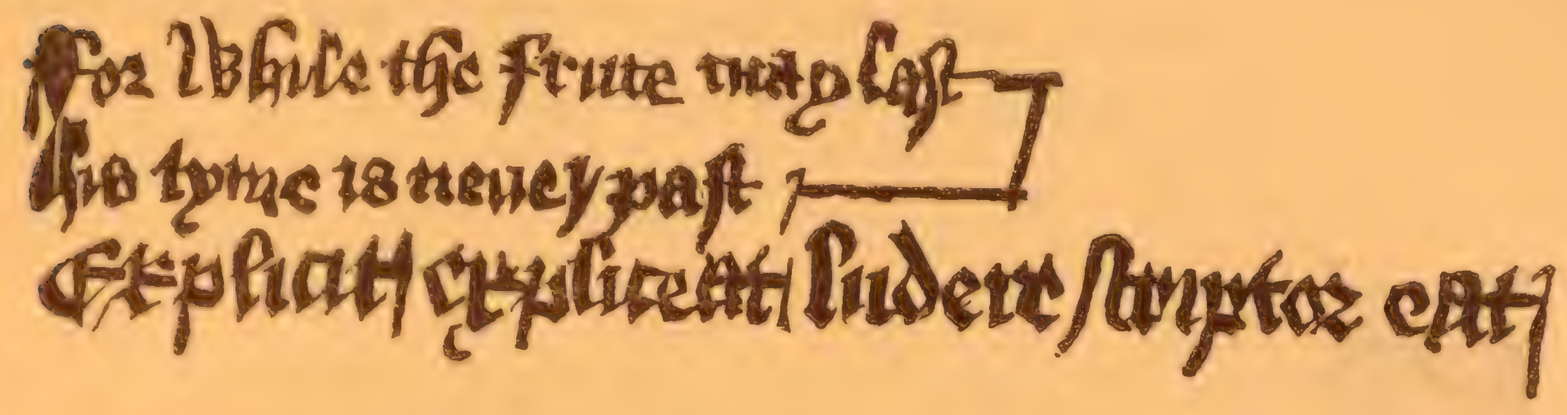
In frith or in fell
Or in fforest y yow tell
And to speke of the hert. if ye wil hit lere
Ye shal cal him a calfe. al the first yere
The seconde yere a broket. so shal he be
The third yere a Spayard. lerneth this at me
The iiij. yere. calles hi˜ a stagge be eny way
The fift yere a grete stagge. my dame bade you say
The sext yere haue he querte
Then̄ calles him an̄ herte
He shal be no hert. til ye sixt yere
And if ye wil carp ferye˜ of the same dere
And of the hornes that he berys yeñ aboute
The first hede shal be iuggement withoute
Therein. fynde we
Suche diuersite
Neuer the lese ye sixt yere eu˜ at ye leste
Thus jugge we vppon ye perche of ye same beste
Whan̄ he has Aunteler withoute eny lette
Rial and Sur Rial also ther˜ sette.

This extract of the first page, and five lines of the second, will shew the numerous variations between the Bodleian MS. and the printed copies of the poem, hitherto dis-

been obligingly communicated to me by Dr. Mavor. He gives the two following extracts from modern catalogues.—" Dame Juliana Berners, on vellum MS. of K. Edward's time, of Hawking and Hunting; one leaf of prologue wanting, F°. 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Egerton's Catal. p. 56. N°. 1584." The date omitted, and the description appears inaccurate, there not being any prologue to the work.—" Juliana Barnes book of Hawking and Hunting, in English verse, with several illuminations, very ancient MS. F°. on vellum. Catalogue of Edwards, 102, Pall-Mall, 1789." Mr. Edwards has favoured me with a letter, stating, according to his recollection: " It must have contained the Treatise on Hunting, because there were figures of the different beasts which were sketched with the pen." It was purchased by Mr. E. from the cabinet of Count Mac Carthy, of Thoulouse. I regret the not having been able to trace either of these to the present possessor.

covered. Besides the alterations in the text, many of the passages are placed differently; for instance, the conclusion of the MS. is the account of the seasons:

" Till ꝑat ꝑe purificacion lasten as ye se
And ꝑat maks ꝑe boor in seson to be



" That till the purificacion lastys as ye se
And makyth the Boore in seson to be
For while that frute may: last his time is neuer past." } St. Alban's, edit. Sign, e. v.

" That tyll the puryfycacyon lasteth as ye may se
And maketh the bore in season to be
For whyle that frute may last, his tyme is neuer past." } Tab. F. iv. *rev.*

Various have been the conjectures on the subject of this poem; and there is much probability of its original derivation remaining still undiscovered. Warton suspected the whole poem " to be a translation from the French or Latin" †. Again, it has been considered to be founded on the craft of Hunting set forth by " Mayster John Gyffard and Willm Twety," who were in attendance on King Edward the IId. ‡ This treatise, attributed to Gyfford and Twety, is preserved among the MSS. of the Cottonian library. From the unusual similarity between the two, both conjectures may be confirmed by after discovery, and prove them partial selections from some more ancient work, in a different language, and of larger magnitude. The variations are numerous: the one being in prose, and the other in verse: in one section of the manuscript occurs an useful description of the art " to blow," a matter of

† *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, Vol. ii. p. 172.

‡ Perhaps the whole was compiled by Twety in the French language, and the MS. a translation therefrom by Gyffard. Warton notices a work entitled " *Le Art de Venerie*, le quel maistre Guillame Twici venour le roy d'Angleterre fist en son temps per aprandre autres." It was formerly among the MSS. of Mr. Fermor of Tusmore in Oxfordshire. Ib. 221. note, m.

instruction necessary with the followers of the diversion, yet unnoticed by our authoress, while many other branches of the science described by "our Dame," are not to be found in the manuscript. Both works are in dialogue; and the description of Hunting the Hare, with the terms of chase used thereupon, will shew that if the "Book of St. Albans," was not a close versification of Twety, they were both grafts derived from the same stock. Twety's work, as already observed, is in prose, having the following introductory lines, forming a desultory prologue.

ALle suche dysport as voydith ydilnesse
Yt syttyth euery gentilman to knowe,
For myrthe annexed is to gentilnesse,
Qwerfore, among alle *other* as y trowe,
To knowe the craft of hontyng, and to blowe;
As thys book shall witnesse, is one the beste;
For it is holsum, plesaunt, and honest.
And for to sette yonge hunterys in the way
To venery, y caste me fyrst to go,
Of wheche . iiij bestis be that is to say,
The hare, the herte, *the* wulfhe, the wylde boor also,
Of venery for sothe *ther* be no moe:
And so it shewith here in portetewre,
Wher̄ eūy best is set in hys figure.

[*Illumination of four animals.*]

ANd ther ben othyr bestis. v. of chase,
The buk the first; the do the secūde;
The fox the thyrde, which ofte *hath* hard grace,
The ferthe the martyn, & *the* last the roo*:
And sothe to say ther be no mo of tho.

* Rather more than necessary complaisance is distinguishable among antiquaries; for, if one doses, another generally nods to keep him in company. Strutt, by some misapprehension

And cause why *that* men shulde the more be sūr,
They shewen here also in portreture.
And cause why they be set in portretūr
Is this, like as lecteture put thyng in mende
Of lerned men, ryght so a peyntyde fygure
Remembryth men vnlernyd in hys kende;
And in wryghtyng for soothe the same I fynde,
Therfore sith lerned may lerne in *this* book,
Be ymages shal *the* lewd if he wole look *.

of the above line, tells his reader "the *ferthe* and the *martyn* must be both one beast, otherwise there are six in number, and the first line of the verse limits them to five." Then comes the Rev. Richard Warner, who pronounces "the ferthe and martin different species of the same genus." Though such accidental trips must raise a smile, it is better to correct a slight error in a valuable work, than cavil at the author's inattention. Let the pen record in the margins of the *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 119.; and of *Topographical Remarks of Hampshire*, Vol.i. p.160. that *ferth* means *fourth*, and it solves all difficulty.

* A specimen of the illustrations, from a tracing by Mr. Alexander, is here preserved; which confirms the statement in the preceding note —The curious apology for introducing the "painted figure," may not inaptly be adopted by modern illustrators.

AND . iij oth^r bestis ben̄ of gret disport,
That ben neyth^r of venery, ne chace :
In huntyng ofte thei do gret comfort ;
As aftir ye shal here in oth^r place :
The grey is one, *ther* of with hyse slepy pace,
The cat an *other*, the otre one also :
Now rede this book and ye shall fynde yt so.

[*Illumination of three Animals.*]

On folio iij commences

Incipit Twety.

TYlle all tho *that* wyl of venery lere, y shall hem teche as y haue lernyd of maystris that is disputyd and endyd that is for to say mayster. John. Gyfford & Willm Twety *that* were wyth kyng Edward the secunde.

Of the Hare.

NOW wylle we begynne atte hare, & why ? she is most merveylous best of the world. and wherfore ? *that* she bereth grece and grotheyth, and Roungeth, and so doth non̄ other best in thys lond ; and at on̄ tyme he is male and *other* tyme female : & therfore may alle men̄ blow at hyr as at *other* bestis, that is to say at herte, at boor, and at wolf. If it be alway male a man may blowe hir for to lede, but it to wete *that* all *the* fayre wordis of venery Ryseth of hir when̄ ye hȳ shul seke.

Of Qwestyones.—Describing in dialogue the beasts of chace, &c. (where it is said, " as many as be put in the book,") Then follows, Of the hert, and, Of blowyng.

Of the Hare Huntyng.

AND if ye hounte at the hare ye shall sey atte vn couplyng, hors de couple auaunt. And aft. iiij tymes. So how, so how, so how. And ye shall seye, sa, sa cy, auaunt, so how. And if ye se that yō houndes haue good wyl to Renne & be feer from you; ye shalle say thus. how amy how amy swef mon amy shefe. And if eny fynde of hym wher. he hāth ben Rycher or bemond ye shall sey oiez a bemond le vayllaunt q^e quide troue le coward ou le court cow. And if ye se that hath be *there* at pasture if it be tyme of grene corne and you fynde wel of hym ye shalle seye la douce a my la il a estē for hȳ so how. And thān ye shull blowe. iij. motes yf yowr hund ne chace not wel hym. Ther one and ther a *nother* as he hath pasturyd hym ye shull say Illeosqȝ. Illeosqȝ Illeosqȝ. Alwey whān they fynde wele of hym and *then* ye shul keste out assygge al a bowte the feld for to se where he be go out of the pastūr or ellis to his foorme ffor he shal not be gladly thēr as he was pastured hym but if it be in tyme of. And afterward if that ony hound fynde of hym or ony my syng whēr he hath been ha oy toutȝ cy este il venȝ a rer so how. sa sa cy adesto. so how. & thān. Sa sa cy auaunt. whan *that* ye se a *nother* y goo out of the foorme as in playn feld or loud yerd or in wode & yor houndes fynde well of hym ye shull say la douce a my la Est, il venuȝ p̄ lue seger so how & Illeosqȝ sy douce amy sy valaunt so how so how. And than whān ye come ther as ye trowe that he be dwellyng and ye seme weel of hym ye shall say la douce a my la est, Il venuȝ p̄ meyndir so how And then whān they ensemble well fote hym and

they trowe well to fynde hym ye shul saye. here how here douce how her pur les sans de luy. And when he is meued ye shul change yō speche And blowyng booth too & ye shul saye as I haue sayd to yow a fore ofte tyl he be ded and whan the hare is take and yor houndes haue ronne wele to hy ye shul blowe aftirward & ye shul yef to yō houndes the halow & that is the syde: the shuldres the nekke and the hed and the loyne shal to kechonne."

The other heads are—Of the hert dyuers questionns. Of the Buk. Of the Boor, Of herdis of sundre of beuys of ye seson of bestis. These sections are very short, and at the end, Explicit le venery de Twety and of mayst John Giffarde. *

Hunting was anciently followed like a petty war of states, and the death of the animal considered as a triumph over an enemy. The youthful nobles were instigated to the chace, that by becoming hardy from the toil, and used to the feints and windings of the roving prey, they might follow the camp without weariness, and cope with the stratagems of the more subtle and daring foe in the field of battle †. This practice continued beyond the period of Twety and Dame Juliana ‡, whose treatises probably assisted in new modelling the chace, and from a rude and boisterous labour, that required the "well limmed, broad shouldred, and milpost-legged yong man, who, with following of hounds, was vsed to leaping of ditches § ;" it became a refined diversion, not unlike coursing, as described by Sir Thomas Elyot: "A ryght good solace for

* *Bibl. Cotton, Vespasian*, B. xii. p. 110. Plut. ix. B. MS. vellum of seven leaves.

† "It is not vnknowne to any man, that antiquity ordayned it to be peculiar for nobility, to trayne vp there children in huntinge, as well to bolden and nosell theym in dangers, as to make them stronge, and accustomed in trauayle, and to force thē shun the delicate lyfe & great Idleness which accōpany honorable houses, & those of gentle bloud, forsomutch as by the pursuite of Beastes, sleyghts of warre bee obserued: The Hounds be the square battell, the Greyhoundes be the flanquarts and Wynges to follow the enimy, the horsemen semeth to gieue the Chace, when the Game speedeth to couert, the Hornes be the Trumpets to sounde the Chase and Retire, and for incouragemēt of the Dogges to run. To be short, it seemeth a very Campe in battayle, ordayned for the pleasure and passetyme of noble youth.—*Painter's Palace of Pleasure, Tome* 2, *fol.* 287.—*Marsh's Edition.*

‡ See the anecdote of Lord Gray and his sons, in *Peacham's Complete Gentleman.*

§ From a Character in *Pasqvils Jestes*, 1609.

man that be studiouse, or theim to whom nature hathe not gyuen personage, or courage apte for the warres; and also for gentilwomen, which feare nether sonne nor wynde for appayryng their beautie *."

The smaller pieces at the end of the treatise upon Hunting consist of an enumeration of the bestys of the chace, of the swete fewte and stynkynge.—Names of dyuers manere howndes.--Propertees of a good grehounde.—The proprytees of a good horse: which article occurs in several of the Harleian MSS.—Various proverbial rhymes and sentences.—The companyes of bestys and foules: of fysshes, &c. This list was probably enlarged by the editor of the St. Albans Book; from that already given at p. 26 †. The shyres and bysshopryches of Englonde.—Last, an unentitled ballad,

* The *Governovr*, Book i. C. xvii.

† In this extended list are several terms, repeated with Italics in his note, by Oldys, as "some one would scarcely expect to meet with from a lady of that holy calling and character which are ascribed to the writer of these pieces:" but as the terms selected do not any of them form part of the list already given, as better authenticated from the initials of Juliana Barnes, it is reasonable to presume the censure of the critic in that respect, ill-timed and groundless. Again he says, "there are words so blunt and indecent both in the treatise of Hawking, and in this poem on Hunting, as were very unbecoming a woman in any character." To the reference on Hawking the same observation may be applied; for the censurable expression is not to be found in the Harleian MS. The poem upon Hunting remains, and if the passages alluded to were not the result of a too faithful translation, many instances from coeval authorities might be cited to prove, that in the minute description of an animal, such language could not then have been considered as either vulgar or objectionable. Leaving that remote period for the better educated, and more polished dames of the court of Elizabeth, what were their literary recreations? Examine their romances and novels, and how many passages are found which we can scarcely believe were ever intended for the perusal of a female, and not unfrequently a sentence, degrading even to the lowest classes of society. Warton observes, "from an abbess disposed to turn author, we might more reasonably have expected a manual of meditations for the closet, or select recipes for making salves, or distilling strong waters." Here again, though piety could not offend, a work of the last description were less likely to escape being "blunt and indecent." In a manuscript "*book of diuers aproued resaites colected by Mary Steward, Nouember y^e* 20, 1643," in my possession; the use and application of strong waters and poultices are little in character with female delicacy, or less offensive upon perusal, than those passages which called forth the prurient observations of the critic, although Mary Steward was often assisted by "my lord of Chestrefeld," who appears to have been an adept in the vocabulary of a midwife. Neither can the excepted passages in the treatise upon Hunting contain any observation "very unbecoming a woman,"

with the burthen of " Euer gramercy myn owne purse *." This was added by De Worde, and seems intended to fill a page which remains blank in the original edition. It would have proved more acceptable, had the piece selected been incidental to some one of the diversions; a species of ancient lyrics, of which the specimens are uncommonly rare †. An Oxford friend, whose acuteness of research is only equalled by his zeal to promote and assist the pursuits and enquiries of his friends, enables me to conclude this division with an elegant and curious fragment, that may be confidently pronounced, never before to have been re-printed or even noticed as in existence; and, perhaps what is more singular, which remained to be gleaned after being known to that indefatigable antiquary, Thomas Hearne.

¶ A caroll of huntynge.

AS I came by a grene forest syde
I met with a forster ye badde me abyde
whey go bet /hey go bet/ he ygo. howe
we shall haue sport and game ynowe.
¶ Underneth a tre I dyde me set
And with a grete herte anone I met
I badde let slyppe / and sayd hey go bet
with hey go bet / hey go bet howe.
we shall haue sport and game ynowe.
¶ I had not stande there but a whyle
Not the mountenaunce of a myle
There came a grete hert without gyle
There he gothe / there he gothe. &c.
we shall haue sport and game ynowe.
¶ Talbot my houde with a mery taste
All about the grene wode he gan cast
I toke my horne and blewe him a blast

even to the modern ear; although the over strained nicety of Oldys might conclude the present age returning into a state of barbarism, upon discovering the whole passage in question among the valuable notes of Mr. Walter Scott, upon the Romance of *Sir Tristrem*.

* Reprinted by Ritson, in the *Ancient Songs*, 1790, p. 89.

† *The Songs of the Chace*, 1811, do not appear to possess any one earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century.

with tro/ro/ro/ro: tro/ro/ro/ro.
with hey go bet/hey go bet. &c.
There he gothe/there he goth, &c.
we shall haue sport and game ynowe.

¶ Finis *.

* The above is preserved among Hearne's books, bequeathed to the Bodleian by Dr. Rawlinson. It is a single leaf, and on the last page possesses "A caroll bringyng in the bores heed," with the following colophon:

¶ Thus endeth the Christmasse carolles/ newely enprinted at Londō/ in the fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our lorde. M.D.xxi.

The *caroll bringyng in the bores heed* was printed by Hearne, in *Guilielmi Neubrigensis Historia*, iii. 745, with his usual correctness. Warton (*English Poetry*, iii. 143.) has copied it with several inaccuracies, and Herbert gives it, with Hearne's corrections of the typographical errors, in his *History of Printing*, i. 164. Ritson reprinted it in his *Ancient Songs*, p. 126. and thence it seems to have been transferred to the *Gent. Mag.* for Nov. 1782, with an intimation that Ritson was in the possession of the original transcript. It will be found in the second volume of the reprint of Herbert, by the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, accompanied with the modern version, as now chaunted at Oxford during the Christmas festivities.

The word *mountenaunce* or *mountance*, in the third stanza, signifies the distance of one place to another; it is used by Chaucer and Spencer.

"Ne set I not the *mountance* of a tare."

Canterbury Tales, 1572.

"Not but the *mountance* of a corne of whete."— *Id.* 12797.

———"They both a furlong's *mountenaunce*
Retir'd their steeds."

Faerie Queene, book iii. canto 8. § 18.

And again in book iii. canto 11. § 20.

Of the Treatise of Fishing with an Angle.

WHILE the unbusied and volatile spirits of the age unite in exhilarating the passions by the chase; the philosopher, student, and sedentary man, need a less boisterous recreation; and therefore become anglers. Hence the works extant upon that art display the erudition of its pursuers. Knowledge and philanthropy, acting under the genial influence of the solitude attached to the diversion, combine to enforce the best moral principles, while the novice is in eager pursuit of technical instruction. No works that treat upon subjects of art, surpass, in this particular, the interesting essays upon angling: and to precede near seventy different English writers, who have more or less thus judiciously enlarged upon the science *, stands the anonymous author of the present treatise: a treatise supposed to be the earliest didactic attempt upon the subject, printed in any language.

Neither for Juliana Barnes, the monkish schoolmaster, nor any one who assisted in compiling the original Book of St. Albans, can there be consistently advanced a claim of authorship in this "little pamphlet." The treatise of hawking is formed, without adornment, by recipes promiscuously gathered; that of hunting is a string of technical phrases attached to venery: and neither of them is interspersed with judicious and sentimental precepts, like the introduction and end of the present tract. It commences with a parable from Solomon, not in the dull and grave monotony that might appear the dubious and fanatical progeny of a gloomy cloister, but with an interesting and candid familiarity discussing what is "good disport," and "honest game;" and enforcing the mild principles of virtue and rational piety, for the obtainment of a cheerful, or, as it is quaintly termed, "a merry spirit." Whatever ravage or spoliage birds, dogs, and horses, might create, is not antecedently considered: neither check, limitation, nor regret, is given to the destructive pursuits of hawking and hunting: but here, at the conclusion, the peaceable angler, whose instrument of pleasure and mischief is converted into a walking staff, is solemnly charged not to seek amusement by fishing in the poor man's several water, without license †; nor to break any gins, or wears; nor take any fish there found; neither break any man's hedge; nor open gates without shutting again; and, finally, not to pursue this disport ravenously,

* A catalogue of books on Angling may be found in the *British Bibliographer*, vol. ii. p. 353.

† There has just appeared an elaborate and perspicuous *Essay on Aquatic Rights, intended as an Illustration of the Law relative to Fishing, and to the propriety of ground or soil produced by alluvion and dereliction in the sea and rivers, by Henry Schultes:* 1811; and which may be consulted with advantage upon the piscatorial rights of a several water.

by taking too much at one time. Such simple and inartificial observations form a strong and illustrative fact, of a pen superior to any concerned in the other more laboured compilements.

The period of writing this treatise may be fixed, with some confidence, to have been early in the fifteenth century. The author says "now thenne woll I dyscryue the sayd dysportes and gamys to fynde the beste of theym as veryly as I can: alle be it that the ryght noble and full worthy prynce the Duke of Yorke, *late* called Mayster of the Game, hath discryued the myrthes of huntynge, lyke as I thinke to dyscryue of it, &c." Of the work alluded to there are an unusual number of manuscript copies yet preserved, but it is more familiarly known as the "Mayster of the Game *" It was compiled by Edmund de Langley, the fifth son of Edward III. †, who died August the

* In the British Museum are not less than nine copies of this curious work, viz. MS. Reg. 17. A. LV. 17. B. 11. 17. B. XLI. 17. D. IV. 17. D. XII. 18 C. XVIII. Harl. MS. 6824, and 5086. Cotton MS. Vesp. B. XII. An imperfect one among the Lansdowne MSS. A copy in possession of Francis Douce, Esq. "Maystrie of Game, treating of the nature of hares, bucks," &c. MSS. comitis Denbigh, No. 44.

† As this writer has not been registered with the *Royal and Noble Authors*, some account of him may not be unacceptable.—Edmund de Langley was born at Langley, near St. Alban's, 1341, from whence he took his sirname. He was first made Lord of Tindal and Earl of Cambridge, 13 Nov. 1362, and not long after Knight of the Garter. He married Isabel, daughter of Peter K. of Castile, usually called the Cruel, in 1372, and in 1381 he headed an army sent to Portugal to support the pretensions of his brother, John Duke of Lancaster, who claimed the crowns of Castile and Leon, in the right of Constance his wife, the elder daughter and coheir of the same Peter, and they are said to have defeated the Castilians with a slaughter of 10,000 men. He was created Duke of York, the 6th August, 1385, upon the accession of Henry IV. (a title that had lain dormant from the time of Otho, son of the D. of Saxony, who obtained it from his uncle Richard I. in 1189). He appears to have neglected politics for the enjoyment of the more congenial pleasures of the chase, and is panegyrised for following his disport without injury or oppression of the poor. Mr. Henry Ellis has pointed out to me where Harding has given his character and appointment as Master of the Game, in the following lines:

At London, so then at his parlyament,
He made therle of Cambrydge, his vncle dere,
The duke of Yorke, to be incontynent;
And so he was proclaymed there full clere:
That Edmonde, hyght of Langley, of good chere,
Glad and mery, and of his owne ay lyued
Without wronge, as chronicles haue breued.

1st, 1402, and the word *late* in the above passage, distinctly shews his name and person were recent in memory in the time of our author.

When all the lordes to councell and parlyament
Went, he wolde to hunte and also to hawekyng;
All gentyll disporte, as to a lorde appent,
He vsed aye, and to the pore supportyng
Where euer he was, in any place bidyng
Without suppryse, or any extorcyon
Of the porayle, or any oppresson. . . . .

The kyng then made ye duke of Yorke by name,
Maister of the Mew-house, & his haukes fayre;
Of his venery, and Mayster of his game,
In what countree he dyd repeyre:
Which was to hym, without any dispeyre,
Well more comforte and great gladnesse
Then bene a lorde, of worldly greate rychesse.

Hardyng's Chronicle, 1543, part I. fol. cxc.

The family genealogy is accurately given in *Stebbing's Sandford's Genealogical History*, 375, 380. Both himself and the Duke of Aumerle, his eldest son, are characters introduced by Shakspeare in Richard II.; who has, in Act 5. sc. 2. erroneously supposed the Duke of Aumerle only son of the then Duchess of York, who was a second wife, and survived her husband without issue. The above-named Isabel left two sons. The Duke of York bore for an *Imprese* a Falcon in a fetterlock, of which see an anecdote in *Camden's Remains*. Portraits of both father and son are among the *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, by Harding.—To return to the Mayster of the Game: It is divided into thirty-six chapters, and one of the few authorities that remain, which can be relied on for a true description of the ancient English chase. Though the minutiæ respecting the hounds, &c. are in language too obsolete for the present age, yet, to make a careful abridgment, it must be received as a valuable acquisition by the lovers of research into our domestic manners and customs. In the first chapter is given a succinct description of Hawking and Hunting, with a commendation of the latter for its duration and certainty, which awakened the jealousy of the author of the Treatise upon Angling, who conclusively answered in disfavor of both diversions, when compared with his own exhaustless amusement. The reference of this writer has excited some enquiry after the original, and I have therefore introduced a part of the dedicatory chapter to gratify the curious.

Cap. 1. p. iii.—"To the honur and reuerence of yow, my ryght worshipfull and dred lord H. by the gce of god, eldest sone and heire vnto the hie excellent and Cston prynce. h. *the* iiij. by *the* forsaid grace kynge of Ingelond, and of Fraunce: Prynce of Wales, duc of

There was a fragment of this treatise, in manuscript, in the possession of the late typographical historian, William Herbert. His own transcript therefrom, where

Gueyne, of lancastre, and of Cornwale, and Erle of Chester. I yowr owyn̄ in euȳ houmble wyse, am meauntred to make this litel symple book; which I recomaund and submytte to yowre noble and wise correccion: the which book shal, zif it lyke to your forsaide lordshipe, be named and called. Mayster of game. And for *this* cause for *the* mater̄ *that this* book *treteth* of bene in euȳ sesoun̄ most durable, and to my thenkyng, to euery gentils hert oftenest most disportful of alle games *that* is to say huntyng: for *though* it be so that havkyng wt gentil houndis, haukes for *the* heronn̄, and the Reuere, be noble and com̄endable; zit *lasteth* it seeldēn at the most not passyng half *the* yere. And though men founden from maij to lammas game y now to hawke at, *there* myght no wight fynde no haukes to hauke with; but as of huntyng *there* nys no sesoun of al *the* yere *that* game ne may in euery good contre ryght wel be founde and eke houndes redy to enchace it. And sith *this* book shall be alle of huntyng which is so noble a game and heke lastyng *thorgh* alle *the* yer̄ to dyuerse beestis, aftir *that* the sesoṅ axeth in gladyng of man, me *thenketh* I may wel calle it Mayster of Game. And *though* it be soo, my dere lord, *that* many on̄ couthen better̄ hau medled hem of this mater̄, and eke more konnyngly *than* I, zit two *thingges ther* be *that* principally hau bolded and caused me this werk to make, on hond. The first is trest of zour noble correction, to the which, as by fore is said, I submitte *this* litel and symple book. So coundly *that though* I vn *worthi* be, I am Maister of this game *with that* noble prince yor fader̄, our̄ aldere soueryn̄ and liege lord forsaid. And for I ne wold *that* his hunters, ne yours *that* now be, or shuld come here aftir weren̄ vnknowe in *the* pfitenesse of *this* art, for *thi* shal I leue this symple memorial ffor as Chauc *saith* in this̄ prologe of the .xxv. good wymmen. Be wryteng haue men of ymages passed, for writyng is *the* keye of alle good remembraunce.

[Here follows a recapitulation of the subjects of the various chapters, which treat of eleven animals, and their natures, as producing sport: viz. the hare, hart, buck, roe, wild boar, wolf, fox, grey, cat, martin, and otter: of the nature and condition of dogs as raches, greyhounds, "alauntis," spaniels, "mastifs that men callen curres; small curres that fallen to be terryers," a long eulogium upon the chace whereby good hunters, avoiding idleness, eschew the vij deadly sins; go into Paradise when they die, and live in this world most ioyful. Concluding] I counsell to alle man̄ folke, of what staat or of what condicion̄ *that thei* be, *that thei* love *the* houndis and *the* huntyngis, and lust of beestis, on or *other*; or of haukyng: for Idilnesse and for to be ydel, and haue no lust *neither* in houndes, *neither* in haukes, is no good token; for, as seith in his book phebus the Erle of foys, *that* noble hunter, he segh neue good man *that* he ne had lust in some of thise. Were he neuer so grete and Riche for he had nede or were he neuer so grete he shuld not wete what it wete: for he shuld not be vsed ne custommyd to trauayle and so nedys mvst a *nother* man don̄ *that* he shuld don̄: for men̄ saiden̄ in olde sawes so moche is a lord worth as he can̄ make his londis availe: And also he

he says " from a very ancient manuscript, penes W. H." I have inspected *. It extends to the instructions respecting the trout, and stops with the bait to be used in September, Sig. h. vj *rev.* There is the customary difference in orthography; and three instances occur of variations in the introductory matter, which may here be preserved, and conclude the present head.

Sig. g. iv. *rev.* line 11 from top.—Many a gyn and many a snayr he maket & mony he leset; yn ye mornyng he walket yn the dew, he goyth also wetschode and soyr a colde to dyner, by the morow, by the morow, and sū tyme to bed or he haue wyl sowped for any thynge y^t^ he may geyt by fowlyng. Many other, &c. MS.

Same page, l. 23. after grete Infirmytees, and sū tyme deythe. Ib.

Sig. h. i. l. 4. After his spyryte. Also whoso wol vse ye game and disporte of anglyng, he must take hede to thys sentence of the olde pūbe y^t^ is thise vsūs

Surge miser mane ſ̄ noli surger, vane
Sanctificat sanat dicat quoq surger. mane.

This is to say he must ryse erly, ye viche thing ys ryght p̄phetabul to men in thys wyse. On is for helthe of the sowyl for hyt schall cause a man to be haly yf eu. he schall be well set to god. The ij^d^. cause is it schall cause bodely helthe and schall cause hym to lyfe long. The iij^d^, hyt schall cause hym to be ryche wordly and gostly yn goodys & goodnes thus haue y p̄ued in mine entent that the disporte of angelynge is the very meyn that causeth a man to be mery spyryt. wyche aftur the seyd p̄abel of Salomō, &c.

saith in the forsaid [book] *that* he neuē segh man *that* loued trauaile & lust of hundes and of hawkes *that* he had mony good costumes in hym for that cometh to hym of grett nobilnes and gentilnesse of hert of what astaat that the man be of, or a greet lord or a lityl or a poor or a ryche. *Bib. Cott. Vespasian*, B. xii. 36 Chapters. 97 leaves.

* Now in the possession of John Townley, Esq.

Of the Treatise on Coat-armour, and Blasing of Arms.

"LYGNAGE of cote armures," and "the blasynge of armys," are two parts of one treatise. That of Fishing being placed between them in 1496, caused an unnecessary and improper separation. In the St. Alban's copy they are given in parts; and the first concludes:

> "Here endeth the mooste speciall thyngys of the boke of the lynage of Coote armuris and how gentylmen shall be knowyn from vngentylmen. and now here foloyng begynneth the boke of blasyng of all man armys: ī latyn french & English
> ¶ Explicit prima pars."

This treatise was principally translated from *De re militari, et factis illustribus*, composed by Nicholas Upton, about the year 1441. According to the fashion of the early chronicles, it commences with the earliest period of time. After the fall of angels, it discusses when the bondman and churle first sprung from Adam *; the division of the world by Noe; the origin of knighthood by Asteriall; and makes out our Saviour "was a gentylman of hys moder behalue." The system and the lore closely assimilate with the known production of our schoolmaster in his prologue, already referred to, where he directs the reader's attention to "the nobulnes or vnnobulnes in dedys." to the necessity there is "to knaw that vij psons be red of whom the dedys mony tymes har had in mynd in hystoryes. That it is to wete of a Prince ī his reame. of a knyght in batell. of a Juge in his place. of a Bysshope in the clergy. of a Polityke man in the pepull. of an Husband man in an howse. and of Abbot ī his chyrche . . . . . of thes are wretyn mony tymes the laudes of good men, and the

* What is there said, that, "in the sones of Adam & Eue were founde bothe gentylman and churle," and the division founded thereon, seems alluded to in the following passage of *A fruitful and necessary sermon specially concernyng almes geuing, preached* 1572, *at S. Maries Spittle, by Thomas Drant*,. "The Saracens will seeme to deriue their antiquitie from Sara, and the Haggeres from Haggar, and that whiche would make a sober man to laugh, the Heroldes also will fetch their antiquitie of their imblasenyng from Cain and Abel." C v. *rev.*

punychmentis of the curssit men." Such study would naturally attempt the distinction "how gentylmen shall be knowyn from vngentylmen," and the period of three years that elapsed between the printing of the Chronicle and the Book of St. Albans, might be partly devoted to the perfecting such a translation.

By our early heraldic writers this treatise is continually relied on as a work of undisputed authority. While it assisted and sanctioned their inquiries, it was referred to either as one of "auntient Herehaughtes *, whoe haue made distinction betweene the gentle and the vngentle, in whome there is as much dyfference as betweene vertue and vice †:" or, as among "diuers other ancient writers, whose names are not certainly knowne ‡:" and again, under the character of "an olde english Hereauld," or "as Vpton saith §." The only instance I have found of the name of Juliana Barnes being repeated by an heraldic writer, is in the *Introduction to Blason*, by John

* In the Bodleian copy of De Worde's edition, is the following note in very ancient writing: "The workes of Nycholas Vpton, an Auncyent Herehaulte, yn the tyme of Kynge Henry the syxthe translated yn to Englyshe." Underneath which, in the hand of Anthony Wood, is "The book of Hawking & Hunting was writ by Dame Juliana Barnes, & not by Nic Upton."

† Vide introduction to Gerard Leigh's *Accidence of Armorie, ed.* 1591, (first printed 1562.) This writer refers to the work as by Upton in several instances. At fo. 37. "Nicholas Vpton saith, that a saltier was an engine to take wilde beastes. And therefore, saith he, it was giuen to riche and couetous people, such as woulde not willingly depart from their substance." So at "signe in armes yt is callyd a Saltori." *sig. d* iiij.

‡ John Bossewell in the *Workes of Armorie*, 1572, borrows many passages with no better acknowledgment than Gerard Leigh.

§ *Blazon of Gentrie*, &c. by Sir John Ferne, knight, 1586. The work is in dialogue, and in the description of the hunter's coat are repeated allusions to the Book of St. Albans. "I haue giuen you warning heretofore, not to be ouer swift, in blazing of coat-armours, least by hasty speach, you commit errours. It is a rule, that in blason, a man ought not to be full of conceites, nor hasty of his tongue. For, as *Vpton* sayth, he that goeth about to take two haires at once, may loose them both. [Compare this with *sig. d.* vij, and Dallaway's *Inquiry*, p. 161.] You haue fayled in this blazon. The charge of the fielde is the martiall attires and weapons, of the moste royall beast of chase, namely the Hart. Therefore when you see any the like borne in a coate of armes, you shall behaue yourselfe both like a good Herealde, and as a perfect wood-man (wherin, you a gentleman, should not be ignorant) to name the Sommeites, troches, or tynes, of the hornes: and so you should haue said that this gentleman beareth, verte, two Harts hornes in fesse; sommeid or troched of ten, Argent, &c. as I will instruct you presently. For there is a rule both of Frythe and Fell (that

Gibbon, who, after observing, " the Book of St. Albans wholly follows Vpton," mentions her in the following passage, which is too amusing and appropriate to be omitted on the present occasion. " This foresaid Book of St. Albans was composed by Julian Barnes, anno 1486, and reduced into a better method by one G. M. and printed anno 1595, and is now wholly out of print: I suppose that some of Julian Barnes (or rather Beaumies, as Baker's Chronicle hath it, in the writers of Edward the Fourth's time) latter impressions were printed by Winnikin de Wordt, and hence is unridled the first distick of that copy of verses prefixt to Guillim's display:

Armorum primus Winkinthewordius *artem*
Protulit & ternis linguis lustravit eandem.

Honest Winnikin being no english, latine, or french herald (as I, when young, really supposed) but a Dutch printer, living in Fleet-street, *sub Solis Intersignio;* (as some of his impression tell us) I have of them of 1528 and 1532. And I cannot but smile at what fruitless inquiry, up and down Cambridge, and Duck-lane, London, I made in those days after this mistaken authour *."

is to say, as well of the forest, as of the plaine) concerning the heade of an hart, written in *olde english rithme*, as followeth:

From foure forward, what so befall,
Be he neuer of so many, you shall him sommeid cal :
Right of the number, that he is,
Calleth him from foure, sommeid iwis."

P. 193. See Hunting *postea:* sig. c. vj. *rev.*

* Gibbon's *Introduction to Blason*, 1682, oct. p. 139.

Of the Appellative Title.

ALL English books produced in the infancy of printing, have an awkward and imperfect appearance, from the absence of a title-page; a deficiency which renders it uncertain in what manner the present work was distinguished immediately after publication. The earliest title it is supposed to have obtained, was of provincial derivation, designated from the name of the place where it was originally printed, being called "The Book of St. Albans," with the addition "by Wynkyn de Worde," for the second appearance in 1496.

Soon after the commencement of the sixteenth century an useful collection from the volume was published as "the Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Fishing; with the measures of blowing added thereto." Its genuine utility and increased popularity appear to have attached to it another appellation, borrowed from more "olden times," for this selection also presents to our view "the book of Sir Tristram;" or, "Old Tristram's book." This verbal distinction partly solves the mystery created by frequent references of authors to such a work, of which the existence has before been doubted. Sir Tristram de Liones was the supposed inventor of the terms of venery, whom an early writer has described as "an auncient forrester;" but an eminent modern poet and critic, misconceiving the expression, supposes it "to have passed into a common proverbial appellation for an expert huntsman *." However, the references to a supposed work by "Old Tristram," as far as general research has hitherto discovered, are always found to imply one of the reprints of this selection.

Though the character of Sir Tristram, as knight of the Round Table, is popularly known, I shall venture to give the passage in the *Romance of Prince Arthur*, which relates to his knowledge of field and other diversions.—"Trystram lerned to be an harper, passyng all other, that there was none such called in no countrey; and so in harping and on instrumentes of musyke he applyed hym in his youthe for to lerne: And after, as he growed in his myght and strengthe he laboured euer in huntynge and hawkynge, so that we neuer rede of no gentilman more that so vsed himselfe therin. And, as the booke sayth, he began good measures of blowynge of beestes of venery and of chace, and of all maner of vermayns; and all these termes haue we yet of hawkyng and huntyng. And therefore the booke of venery, of hawkyng, and huntynge, is called the booke of Sir Trystram: wherefore, as me seemeth, all gentylmen that

* Note on the Romance of *Sir Tristrem*, 1804, by Walter Scott, p. 252.

beereth olde armes, of ryght they ought to honoure Sir Trystram, for the goodly termes that gentylmen haue and vse and shall vse vnto the worldes ende; that therby in a maner all men of worshyp may dysseuer a gentylman from a yeman, and from a yeman a vylayne. For he that is of gentyll blode wyll drawe hym vnto gentyl tatches, and to folowe the custome of noble gentylmen *."

Though the age of chivalry was perceptibly declining, the fame of the compeer of the renowned Arthur was still held with fair courtesy by all ranks; and the imprudent but inviolate attachment of Sir Tristram for the beautiful Isonde remained, according to the language of an old bard, "in every man's mouth †." His interesting prowess and errantry still vibrated on the harp; and the wayward censure of the ecclesiastic was disregarded, when recounting the knightly valour and achievements of the hero. Under these circumstances of popularity, with the traditional reputation of having first refined the diversions of hawking and hunting into a science; it might appear a tribute of gratitude to adopt the distinction of his name for the only work on the subject then in circulation, and wherein he was incidentally mentioned. This appropriation is uniformly given to *the selection;* for the *Book of St. Albans* was not even then of easy reference.

The name of the hero occurs in the second line of the treatise on Hunting:

"My dere chylde take hede how Tristram dooth you tell:"

Such a simple link cannot appear to possess sufficient strength to ensure permanency to this casual adoption. However, Turbervile draws many of his authorities from "Tristram's Precepts ‡," and in defining the "Termes of Venerie," he expressly

* Folio edition, printed by Copland, Book viii. ch. 3. Again Arthur addresses Sir Tristram as "one of the best knyghtes and gentyllest of the worlde and the knyght of moste worshyp. For of al maner of huntyng thou berest the pryce. And of all measures of blowynge thou art the begynner. And of all the termes of huntynge and hawkynge ye are the begynner." *Ib.* B. x. ch. 6.—Caxton's edition of this celebrated Romance, appeared at the close of July 1485. (See Dibdin's *Ames*, Vol. i. p. 241.) only the year preceding "the Book of St. Albans;" and singular it is, that by excepting the science of musick, and measures of blowing, the above description of Sir Tristram presents nearly a correct analysis of the labours of our schoolmaster. Musick, hawking, hunting, and heraldic knowledge, if not all points of scholastic instruction, were uniformly accounted material as youthful accomplishments; and the outline in the Romance, as well as the contents of the volume before us, might be equally founded on the prevailing fashion and usual characteristics that denoted the perfect gentleman.

† Gower *De Confessione Amantis*, lib. vi.

‡ Sometimes refers to the "noble,"—"our," or "Old Tristram's opinion" See *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, 1575.

speaks of "olde Trystram's booke," or, "as Trystram's booke teacheth:"—"To beginne, (says he) with the termes that are proper for the companies of beasts: you shall vnderstand that Huntesmen vse to saye, *An Heard of Harts*, and *Hindes*, *Buckes* and *Does*: and a *Trippe of Gotes* and *Geates*. *A Beauie of Roweſ*. *A Sounder of Swine*. And *a Rowte of Wolues* .... Trystrā addeth, *A Richesse of Marternes*, and a *Slowth of Beares*." All these terms are specifically taken from "the companyes of beastes and foules," given among the miscellaneous pieces *.

Sir Thomas Cockaine, in the address prefixed to his very rare Treatise of Hunting †, observes: "It hath bin long receiued for a truth, that Sir Tristram, one of King Arthure's Knights, was the first writer, and (as it were) the founder of the exact knowledge of the honorable and delightfull sport of hunting, whose tearmes in

* Vide present volume, sig. *e* iij *rev.*

† Of this tract there is a copy in the British Museum. It is entituled, "*A short Treatise of Hunting, compyled for the delyght of Noble men and Gentlemen, by Sir Thomas Cockaine, Knight.—Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the black Beare*, 1591. 4to. four sheets, with wood cuts, principally borrowed from Turbervile's Treatise. This is one of the rarest publications on the subject of English sports. The author was "a gentleman of eminent note in those days **," and from his own book it may be gathered, that excepting for two years, he devoted his whole time to the pleasures and toils of the chase. It also appears that he was bred up under Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, and served three respective representatives of that illustrious family, in all probability as master of the hounds, or in some similar capacity. To the latter of these he dedicates his professional treatise, which he dates "from my house neare Ashborne ††, this last of December, 1590," and in which he styles himself "a professed hunter, and not a schollar." The cessation for two years above noticed, cannot be better accounted for than in his own language, which is curious from giving us a clue to the author's age, and affording some historical intelligence: "for this fiftie-two yeres (he says) I haue hunted the Bucke in summer and the Hare in winter, two years onely excepted. In the one, hauing king Henry the VIII. his letters to serue in his warres in Scotland, before his Maiesties going to Bulleine: And in the other, king Edward the VI. his letters to serue vnder Francis the Earle of Shrewsburie, his Grace's Lieutenant, to rescue the siege at Haddington: which towne was then kept by that valiant gentleman, Sir James Wilford, knight."

** Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, by Thomas, Vol. ii. p. 1120.

†† Ashbourne was for very many generations, the seat of this ancient family of Cockaine. Sir Thomas was sheriff for the counties of Derby and Nottingham, in the third of Edw. VI. and 1st and 11th of Eliz. and the 21st and 27th, for Derby alone. See Fuller's *Worthies*, 1811, Vol. I. 262. He was grandfather of Sir Aston C. the poet. The pedigree may be found in Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, by Archdall, 1789, vol. iv. p. 222. Ashbourne now belongs to Sir Brooke Boothby, Bart.

Hunting, Hawking, and measures of blowing, I hold to be the best and fittest to be vsed. And these first principles of Sir Tristram yet extant, ioyned with my owne long experience in Hunting for these fiftie two years now last past, have mooued me to write more at large of hunting the Bucke and other chases than Sir Tristram did." It might have been questioned where the 'first principles,' were yet extant, but the tract concludes with "Sir Tristram's measures of blowing," copied *verbatim*, from the addition made to the treatises hereafter described, and where it is never so entitled.

Another proof to be adduced is rather a singular one. Manwood in his *Treatise and Discovrse of the Lawes of the Forrest*, 1598, misled by the garbled attempt of Gervase Markham, then newly published; whose treatise upon Hunting scarcely retains a single feature of the original, notwithstanding its imposing title of authenticity, quotes *that* as the real Book of St. Albans, and the selection immediately afterwards as two distinct authorities. "Hollinshed (says Manwood) in his description of England saith, That the beasts of venery or Forrest, are these, the Hart, the Hynd, the Hare, the Boare, and the Wolfe: and euen according to the same, the auncient Booke of St. Albons, written by a monk, of Hunting and Hauking, saith, that those foresaid fiue beasts by name, are the beasts of the Forrest, or of Venerie, and none other: and old Sir Tristram, in his worthie treatise of Hunting saith, that the Hart, the Hynd, the Hare, the Boare, and the Wolfe, they onely are the beasts of Forrest, which the old Forresters or Woodmen were woont to call beasts of venery *."

The editor of the *Jewel for Gentry*, in 1614, (the last reprint) fully confirms the observations above-made, by describing the collection "in its first birth the childe of the most excellentest father that euer begot in memory any worke of this nature;" but that since the printing at St. Albans "the defects were so grosse, that Trestram himselfe would hardly haue knowne so neare a kinsman †."

To conclude, it must be recollected, that the designation of "Sir Tristram's Book," here established, commenced at a period too recent to explain what was "the book of Sir Tristram," spoken of as in existence, by the compiler of the Romance. The explanation now given, only shows what for a series of years was referred to by English authors under that title, and the above extracts are too uniform and decisive to need a comment.

* Oldys did not discover that Manwood treated these two publications as separate authorities; and therefore, observes he "always quotes Sir Tristram, and never Mrs. Barnes; and not only gives him the title of knighthood, but makes him a monk withal."—*Oldys's Note, ut sup.*

† From the Address to the reader, which will be found at length in the account of the editions.

Of the respective known editions.

[The Boke of St. Albans.]

ST. ALBANS, 1486.

THIS article may commence with the notes written by Hearne, already referred to, on the blank leaf before his own copy, now in the Bodleian Library.

" *Suum cuiq*
Tho. Hearne,
Sept. 28, 1732.

" Juliana Barnes (but imperfect) printed at St. Albans, but 'tis the same letter with Caxton's *. Here wants *a*, being 8 leaves. also all after signature *e*, wch signature contains 8 leaves. The book treats of Hawking, Hunting, and Armory. Among the Bp. of Ely, Dr. John Moore's, books, at Cambridge, is Julian Barnes, printed at St. Albans, conc. wch my learned Friend, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Baker, of St. John's Coll. in that university, sent me the following account in a Letter dated from thence, Dec. 16, 1733.

" My good Friend," (saith Mr. Baker) " Mr. Taylor [Keeper of the University Library] having at last met with Juliana Barnes's Book, tho' it may come too late for use, yet I send you an Account.

" The book is imperfect at the beginning, beginning with Pag. 7. In a blanck Leaf prefixed is this Note, in Mr. [Wm.] Burton's hand, as I presume.

" *This Booke was made by the Lady Julian*]*Berners, daughter of Sr James Berners, of Berners Roding, in Essex, Knight, & Sister to Richard Lord Berners. She was Lady Prioresse of Sopwell, a Nunnery neere St. Albons, in wch Abby of St. Albons this was first printed* 1486, 2 *H.* 7. *She was living* 1460, 39 *H.* 6. *according to John Bale, Centur.* 8 *Fol.* 611.At the end of the Book, thus

" *Explicit Dam. Julyans Barnes in her boke of huntyng.*

" Then follows a MS. Note, *Ex Lelando et Balæo*, thus :—*Juliana Barnes fœmina illustris corporis et animi dotibus abundans, et formâ eleganti spectabilis, claruit Author hujus operis*, 1460. 1 E. 4. *Ad calcem Libri.*

* The types were the same as those used for the *Fructus Temporum*, printed at St. Albans in 1483. For their similarity to those used by Caxton, compare with Dibdin's new edition of the *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 88, No. 3. plate ix.

Colophon of the Book of St. Albans. f. x.

¶ Hic finis diuinorꝫ genoſis ſcalæ ſcilicet ſcientiꝫ patebit

¶ Sanctus albanus.

Fac simile of the Type of the Book of St. Albans. a. ij.

IN so moch that gentill men and honest persones haue gre-
ete delite in haukyng and desire to haue the maner to take
haukys: and also how and in what wyse they shulde gyde theym
ordynately: and to knaw the gentill termys in communyng of
theyr haukys: and to understonde theyr sekenesses and enfirmi-
tees: and also to knawe medicines for theym accordyng. and
mony notabull termys that ben vsed i hawkyng both of their hau
kys and of the fowles that their hawkys schall sley. Therfore
thys book followyng in a new forme shewys veri knawlege of
suche plesure to gentill men and psonys disposed to se itt.

"Then follows in a new Alphabet, or numeral figures: *Here in this Booke folowyng is determyned the lynage of Coote Armiris*, &c. Being a Book of Heraldry with blazonings, escutcheons, &c. part in colors, &c. *

"At the conclusion of all thus: *Here in thys boke afore ar contenyt the bokys of haukyng & huntyng with other plesuris dyverse, as in the boke apperis, & also of Coot armuris a nobull werke. And here now endyth the boke of blasyng of armys, translatyt & complyt togedyr at Seynt Albons the yere from th' incarnacion of owre Lorde Jhū* MCCCCLXXXVI. [2. *H.* 7.]

"Then follows this MS. Note.] *Liber Willmi Burton Lindliaci Leicestrensis, morantis apud Fold. Com̄: Staff:, ex dono Consanguinei mei charissimi Thomæ Purefey de Barwell, juxta Lindley in Com̄: Leicestr: Armig:* 1612.

"Since that Mr. Baker sent me the following passage in a letter, dated Cambridge, Feb. 5th, 1733. "From Dr. Middleton, I have this account of Jul. Barnes's book; The first signature of it is, *a iiii.* in the seventh page; the second is, *b i.* in the seventeenth page; but the pages are not marked in the original impression, only by a pen, on the foreside of the leaf, and by the course of the signatures, there are three leaves wanting in the beginning †."

* Both first and second editions are usually coloured, according to emblazonment, but the black and red only are worked with the press.

† The above note has been sufficiently commented on in the preceding pages: for the sake of juxta-position there may be added the following articles from the same repository:—

—"Juliana Barnes, a Gentlewoman of excellent Gifts, who wrote Treatises of Hawking, and Hunting, and also a Book of ye Law of Arms and Knowledge appertaining to Heraldry in Ke Edwd 4th's time; ye first of these Books was intituled the Gentleman's Recreation, or Book of St. Albans, so called because it was printed in yt Town, a thin Fol: in 1481."—

Original Letter from Thomas Rawlins, Esq. to Mr. Ballard. Bibl: Bodl. MSS. Ballard, 41, 152.

—"Juliana Barners wrote the Book called ye Book of St. Albans and ye Gentleman's Recreation. yt is of Hawking and Hunting *wth other divers pleasant matters*, and in ye Treatise of Hunting she proposed for her model ye worthy Prince ye Duke of York (Son of K. Edwd. 4th.) late called Mayster of Game, *who hath described ye Mirths of Hunting.* As for this Religious Sportswoman to whom these Treatises are ascribed, she was, according to Dr. Middleton, of a n[oble]* Family, Sister to Ld. Berners, of Essex, and Prioress of Sopwell n[unnery]* near St. Albans, she flourished, according to Bale and Pitts, abt [the]*

* Torn off by the wafer.

Of this volume even fragments are rarely met with: I know but of two, both of them part of the heraldic treatises. A copy of the work, very nearly perfect, is in the possession of Mr. Phelps, of Lincoln's-Inn, whose collection acquires an increased value from easiness of access, and the urbanity of the possessor. Another is entitled to particular notice, as the only copy known which is considered perfect: it is among the many rarities in Lord Spencer's valuable library; who condescendingly permitted an inspection immediately upon application.

It commences with the treatise of hawking, upon signature *a* ij *; then follows *a* iij and iiij and four corresponding leaves without signatures: *b* and *c* of eight leaves each, the first four with signatures; that of *d* has only four leaves, the first two with signatures, and the treatise of hawking ends at *d* iiij, with the reverse page blank. Hunting, and the miscellaneous pieces extend through *e* and *f*, in eights, the first four leaves having signatures, and concludes at *f* viij, with the following page left blank. The signatures recommence at coat-armour, running *a* vj, and *b* v, with signatures to the first three leaves; this treatise ends on the reverse page of *b* v, and a leaf to reckon *b* vj appears omitted. Blasing of arms has *c*, *d*, and *e*, in eights; *f* ten with like signatures; the arms of St. Albans, as a colophon, occupy the first page of *f* x, making the volume contain 88 leaves.

As the contents are now re-printed, further observation is unnecessary. Mr. Phelps has kindly enabled me to present the reader with a fac simile of the induction and colophon: and two pages minutely printed *lineatim*, as a specimen of the original orthography.

year 1460, and is celebrated by Leland and other writers for her uncommon Learning and Accomplishments."—*Original Letter from the same to the same, MSS. ibid.* 182.

—"In your history of Learned Women you sh^d not omitt Katherine Barnes (or more truly Katherine *Berners* of ye great house of Berners in Norfolk,) who wrote a very curious Treatise of Hunting, Hawking, & Fishing, in ye time of Edwd ye 4th, and published it allmost as early as any Book we have in Eng^d."—

Original Letter from Mr. C. Lyttelton to Mr. Ballard, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Ballard, 42, 14.

* *a* j was probably a fly leaf, either blank, or only bearing that signature. It may be added, the copy in Mr. Phelps's possession also commences with *a* ij.

Specimen of the Orthography of the Book of St. Albans.

Lyke wise as ī the booke of hawkyng aforesayd are writyn and noted the termys of plesure belongyng to gentill men hauyng delite therin. In thessame maner thys booke folowyng shewith: to sych gentill personys the maner of huntyng for all maner of beestys. wether thay be Beestys of Venery. or of chace. or Rascall. And also it shewith all the termys cō uenyent as well to the howndys as to the beestys a forsayd. And in certayn ther be many dyuerse of thaym. as it is declared in the boooke folowyng.

Bestȳs of venerȳ.

WHeresoeuere ye fare by fryth or by fell
My dere chylde take hede how Tristram dooth you tell
How many maner beestys of venery ther were
Lystyn to yowre dame and she shall yow lere
Fowre maner beestys of venery there are
The first of theym is the: hert: the secunde is the hare
The boore is oon of tho. the wolff and not oon moo.

Bestȳs of the Chace.

¶ And where that ye cum in playne or in place
I shall yow tell which be beestys of enchace
Oon of theym is the: Bucke: a nother is the Doo
The Fox and the Martron: and the wilde Roo
And ye shall my dere chylde other beestys all
Where so ye hem fynde Rascall ye shall hem call
In fryth or in fell: or in forest I yow tell.

Note here the aage of an hert.

¶ And for to speke of the hert iff ye will it lere
Ye shall hym a . Calfe . call at the fyrst yere
The secunde yere a . Broket . so shall ye hym call
The therde yere a . Spayad . lerneth thus all
The fowrith yere a . Stagge . call hym by any way
The fithe yere a . grete Stagge . youre dame bide yow say
The vi . yere call ye hym an · hert.
Doth so my childe wylis ye been in quart

To knaw the hede of an hert. & that is dyuerse

¶ And of the horny that he then berith a bowte
The fyrst hede shall be Jugett wyth owte
Ther in fyndyn wee suche dyuersite.
Natheles the . vi . yere euermoore at the leest
Thow shalt well Juge the perche of thessame beest
When he hath Awntelere with owt any lett
Ryall and Surriall also there Isett
And that in the toppe so when ye may hym keen
Then shall ye call hym forchyd an hert of tenne
And when he hath in the toppe . iij . of the selue
Then ye shall call hym trochid an hert of . xij.
And afterwarde in the toppe when ther . iiij . bene
Then shall ye call hym sommyd an hert of . xvi.
And from . iiij . forwarde watt so befall
Be he neuer of so many ye shall hym summed call
Ryght of the nombre euyn that he is
Callith hym from . iiij . forth summed Jwys
Also haue ye sele an hert heded weele.

[Book of St. Albans enprynted at Westmestre by Wynkyn the Worde. M.CCCC.lxxxxvi.]

W. DE WORDE, 1496.

THIS, like the first edition, is without a title page, although in conformity to later custom, I have ventured to give one, for the present reprint, in black letter *. The variations of this from the former edition, independent of the orthography, consist of the additions of two wood-cuts upon the first leaf †; of the ballad of "Euer gramercy myn owne purse;" and the "treatyse of fysshynge with an Angle;" and a substitution on the last leaf, of the arms of England, in place of those of Saint Albans. As this reprint is attempted after the manner of a fac simile, it only remains to inform the reader, that upon collation there may be found occasional variations in De Worde's copies, though of the same edition. The copy that has now been implicitly followed is printed on vellum, which proved the only instance of a perfect copy, of several inspected on the present occasion. Another was procured for the service of the press, and in some of the early sheets there was an occasional difference between them, but not material, or perhaps more than a correction of some hasty drop, from an imperfect fixing of the press; and never exceeded "⁊" for "and," or "ꝑt" for "that," or sometimes the reverse, which might occur in the whole about twenty times. With *f* ij and the corresponding page, the variations made it certain the press was by some accident broke, and the whole re-imposed. As a literary curiosity, duplicate pages will be found preserved in their proper place. It also shews that the vellum copy was an early impression, there not being the capital to commence the sentence at *f* ij. This, and the subject of the preceding article, are the only two editions of any authority; or, perhaps, of any material value to the literary man, as those which followed were either partial selections or unwarrantable mutilations.

* Not to mislead, the original work is preserved entire with two blank leaves, which sever it from the preliminary and postliminary matter, to be hereafter bound separate, or not, according to the inclination of the possessor.

† These display, on the first page a landscape, with various species of both land and water fowl, perhaps to represent the diversity of the game afforded in hawking: on the second page a group boldly delineated, which shews the Master of the Game receiving the report of the Forester; and his attendants in character, bearing the hunting spear, bill, bow and arrows, horn, with hounds coupled, and a hawk in flight. There is a costly appearance in the robes of the principal persons, and it has been conjectured to represent Prince Henry with his uncle the Duke of York, giving orders for the chace.

¶ Here begynneth a treatyse of fysshynge with an Angle .*.

SAME. N. D. 1494—1534. [Over the wood-cut of the man fishing, which is repeated on the back of the title, q^to.] THIS edition varies the orthography throughout, and has some slight corrections of the text, as well as omissions. To furnish a specimen take the commencement :—

" Salomon in his parables saythe, y^t. a good spiryte makith a flouryng age. That is a fayre age and a longe. And than syth y^t it is so, I aske this question/ which ben the meanes and the causes y^t enduce a man vnto a *good* spiryte. Truely to my best discrecyon it semeth good dysportes and honest games/ in *the whiche* a man ioyeth without*en* any repentaunce after. Than foloweth it that the good dysportes and honest games ben cause of mannes fayre age and longe lyfe. And therfore nowe wyll I chose of foure good dysportes and honest games/ that is to wete/ of Huntynge/ Hawkynge/ Fysshynge/ and Fowlynge. ¶ The beste to my symple dyscrecyon *and vnderstandynge* is Fysshynge *with an Angle*, or with a rodde and a lyne, and a hooke. And there*fore* to trete, &c."

The following omissions are material :—

Sig. *h*. iij. line 7. " ¶ And," to " draughte." As a blank for the *representation* of the " water knotte and also the duchys knotte *," is left in the original edition, this sentence was here omitted as unnecessary.

h. iiij. The first line and hook described as " the grounde lyne rennynge & lyenge." Second representation of a line omitted and no floats to the other three.

i. iij. From the words at line ten " shepes talow" to *i*, iiij. line 23, inclusive, omitted. The next sentence commences : " *And take good hede y^t*. in goynge aboute your dysportes," &c.

At the end :—¶ And all those that dothe after this rule shall haue the blyssynge of God and saynte Peter. Whiche he them graunte that with his precyous bloode vs bought. Amen.

¶ Here endeth the boke of Fysshynge/ with other dyuers maters. Imprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde/ dwellynge in Flete-strete at the sygne of the Sonne.

Concludes, *d* iiiij, on the last page, printer's usual mark.

As the text of this edition was continued in ALL the subsequent editions, it is probable the treatises of hawking and hunting also appeared in quarto by De Worde, which seems confirmed from the word " Fysshynge" being inserted dexter of the signatures *b*. *c*. and *d*. The only copy of this tract known is in the possession of Mr. Haworth.

* The water knot is described in Daniel's *Rural Sports*, vol. ii. p. 151. The dutchess knot I conceive to have been formed in manner of the double ribband knot, which has that title in the *Ladies Dictionary*, 1694, Art. *Appurtenances in Dressing*.

The booke of hauking, huntyng and fysshyng. with all the properties and medecynes that are necessary to be kept.

W. Copland. N. D. 1548. —68, 9.

THIS I consider the earliest edition of the Book of Sir Tristram known, though, as observed above, it might have been printed by De Worde, one of whose wood-cuts is repeated here in the title, with the remarkable addition of a second bird, as if the original artist had made an essential omission in not providing a lure for the hawk. As this selection contained much practical information, and the recreations treated of had many followers, the circulation was very wide, and it was so often reprinted, as to render it doubtful whether our unexplored libraries will not hereafter exhibit editions, hitherto unknown, of the book of Sir Tristram. It commences at *a* ij. with head title. "The true forme of keping of Haukes as hath ben vsed in times past. And fyrst to speake of haukes from an egge tyll they bene able to be taken. For to speake," &c. Except in orthography, same as W. de Worde. Concludes at *e* iiij.

"*Imprynted at London in the Vyentre vppon the thre Craned wharfe by Wyllyam Copland.*"

New title page, with wood-cut, sig. *f*. i.

Here begynneth the
booke of Hunting
wherebnto is added the mea-
sures of blowing.

Commences at back of title, with introductory head in prose "Lykewyse as in the booke of Haukynge," &c. A slight alteration in this treatise from De Worde's was made upon the decline of the catholic religion.

Tyll the Translacōn releuyth leue ye me :
Of saynt Thomas tyde of Caunter bure *.

to

Tyl translacion receueth † leue ye me,
Of saynt Benet the .xi. of July.

* See top of page, sig. *e* i.

† Other editions "releueth."

Another similar change of "the curse of our heauenly fader the pope *;" to "the curse of our heuenly father God."

A title is introduced over the lines at the end: "To haue a faythfull freend;" and at the bottom of the page, "*Thus endeth the booke of huntyng*." With *i* iij. commences "the measures of blowing." This addition to the "book of Sir Tristram," was too material and valuable not to be afterwards repeated. If originally founded on the instructions in Twety's MS. which are given below, it is probably here enlarged and methodized according to local practice †.

1. The measures of bl[o]wynge of a horne. Fyrste to geue knowledge to goe to the feeld.

Blow wyth one wynde, one short one longe, and a longer.

* See sig. *e* iij, *l.* 20. In copies of De Worde's edition, it is usual to find those words erased; in consequence of the proclamation made by Hen. VIII. that the names of the Pope and Thomas a Becket should be put out of all books, and monuments; whence so many of our chronicles have similar obliterations.—An erasure in favour of the Pope I have once seen, made in the Litany inserted with the daily services of *The ordre of the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes, in West Smythfielde in London:* 1553: printed by Grafton. It was in the suffrage: "From all sedicyon and priuei conspiracie, *from the tyrannie of the Byshop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities*, from all false doctrine," &c.

† The description and mode of preparing the horn, which claimed particular attention from our ancestors, is thus minutely described by the Duke of York in his Master of the Game:—

"How an hunters horn shuld be dryve. There byñ diuers manners of hornes that is to say bugles, grete abotes, hunters hornes, buettis, smale fostered hornes and mene hornes of ij manners. That oo maner is wexed wt. grene wex & grettere of sum. And for thei bene best for good hunters therof wil I devise how and of what fasson thei shuld be driue. First a good hunters horn shuld be dryve of ij span of lengthe and nought moche more ne moch lasse; and nought to crokyng neither to straught but the flewe be of iij or iiij fyngres vpper more than the hede, that lowde hunters callen the greet eende of the horn, and also that it be as greet & holow dryven as it may be to the length & that it be short at side, to the ban drike ward; that at the nether side & that the hede be as wide as it may be & ay ay dryve smaller and smaller to the flewe: & that it be wel wexed thikker or thinner after as the hunter thenketh that it wil best soune: and that it be the lenght of the horn from the flewe to the byndyng, and also that it be not to smal dryven frō thilk byndyng to the flue, for if it be the horn wil be to mene of soune: & of hornes for fewtrees & wodemen I speke not of, for euery smale horn & other mene hornes vnwexid ben good I now for hem." Cap. xxii.

2. To blowe to the coulipng of the houndes at the kenel doore.

Blowe with one wynde, one longe, and .iii. shorte. The seconde winde one long one short and a shorter.

3. To blowe to the feeld.

Blowe with two wyndes, with the fyrst one short, one longe, and two short. With the second winde one short, one longe, and a longer.

4. To blow in the feeld.

With two wyndes the fyrst two short, one longe and two short. The seconde one short, one longe, and a longer.

5. To vncouple the houndes in the feeld.

Three longe notes: one with three wyndes.

6. To blowe to seke.

Two wyndes, the fyrst a longe and a short, the second a longe.

7. When the houndes a game vnknowen hunteth then the hunte bloweth this.

Blow the velyne one longe and .vi. short.

8. If it be the same ye hunt for.

Blowe the whole rechate with the wyndes the fyrste wynde one longe and .vi. short. The second wynde two short and one longe. The thyrde wynde one longe and vj short.

9. Strake to drawe from couert to couert.

Thre wyndes .ii. short one longe and .ii. short. The second, one longe and a shorte. The thyrd, one longe.

10. To blowe the earthyng of the foxe when he is couerable.

Foure notes with foure wyndes. The relyefe, one longe .vi. short.

11. To blowe if the foxe be not couerable.

Two wyndes, one longe, and thre short. The second wynde longe.

12. To blow the death of the foxe in feld or couert.

Thre notes, with thre wyndes. The rechate vpon the same with thre wyndes. The fyrst wynde, one longe and .vi. short. The second one short and one longe. The thyrd, one longe and .v. short.

13. The death of the foxe at the Lordes gate.

Two notes. And then the relyefe thre tymes.

14. The death of the bucke eyther with bowe hounds or grehoundes.

One longe note.

15. The knowledge of the same.

Two short and one longe.

16. The death of the bucke with houndes.

Two longe notes and the rechace.

17. The pryce of an hart ryall.

Nine notes with thre restes.

18. The rechate with thre wendes.

Phe * fyrst one longe and .vi. short. The second one short and one longe. The thyrd, one longe, and .vi. short.

19. To blowe the call of the keepers of any parke or forest.

One short, one long, and one longer.

20. If the keper answer you blow

Two short with one wynde, and draw toward hym. And after that blowe one short.

21. When the game breaketh couerd.

Foure with th[r]e wyndes, & the Rechate vpon the same.

22. The stent when the houndes can hunt no further.

Thre wyndes, the fyrst one longe, and .vi. short. The second, one longe and one short. The thyrd, one longe.

23. Where the Foxe is erthed to blowe after this maner for the taryers.

One longe, two short. The second winde, one short and one longe.

Note, this is the chefest and principallest poynt to be learned.

Euery long conteyneth in blowyng .vii. quauers, one mynyme, and one quauer.

One mynyme conteyneth thre quauers.

The ende of the whole measures of blowyng †.

Imprynted at London in the ventre vpon the
thre Crane wharfe by me William Copland. [recto *i* iiij.]

* *Sic.*

† OF BLOWING.

Syr hunter for how many bestis shall a man blow the mene. For .iij. males and for one femalle that is to say for an hert, the boor, the wolfth male. And alle so the wolfth female, as wel as to her husbond. How shall we blowe whā ye hau sen the hert. I shall blowe aft̄. one mote. ij motes and if myn howndes come not hastily to me as y wolde I shall blow .iiij. motes & for to hast hem to me and for to warne the gentelys *that the* hert is sene than shalle I rechace on myn houndis iij tymes and whan̄ he is ferre from me *than* shall y chase hym in thys man̄ Trout, trout, tro ro rot. trout, trout, tro ro rot. trou ro rot. trou ro rot. Syr hunter why blowe ye so for cause that the hert is seen an, y wot neue whedir that myn hundis be become fro myn meyne. & what mañ of chase clepe ye that we clepe it the chace of the forloyne; I chase wt. my houndis *that* be huntyn an oꝑr chace ꝑr is and that is clepid the perfyȝt than ye shall begynne to blowe a long mote and aftirward ij shorte motes in this mañ

Here beginneth a tre-
tyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle.

[Wood cut of a Man fishing. Reverse of one used by De Worde, whereby the rod becomes placed in the right hand *.]

Commences back of title and ends *rev.* of *m* iiij. Colophon.

¶ *Heere endeth the booke of Haukyng, Huntyng, and Fysshing, with other dyuers matters.*

¶ *Imprinted at London in the Ventre vpon the three Crane wharfe by wyllyam Copland.*

SAME. N. D. 1551. —53-54. The booke of hauking, huntyng, and fysshyng, with all the properties and medecynes that are necessary to be kept.

The wood-cuts, folios, &c. similar to the preceding article: even the blooming capitals are nearly continued the same. At the end of treatise on Hawking: "*Imprynted at London in Paules churche yerde by Abraham Vele* ‡." Of Hunting: "*Imprynted at London in Fletsstrete at the signe of of* † *the Rose Garland by Wyllyam Copland for Robert Toye* ‡." And of the Fishing:

Trout trout and thañ trout tro ro rot, begynnyng with a long mote for eūy man that is a bowte you and can skylle of veñy may knowe in what poynt ye be in yowr game be yor horñ. An *other* chace ther is whañ a mañ hath set vp archerys & grey houndes, and the best be founde and passe out the boundys and myne houndes aft̄ thañ shall y blowe on this maner a mote and aftirward the rechace vpon my houndys that be past the boundys whech be the boundes *that* as the boundes ben *thei* that we assignyd as y haue sayd to fore. Syr hunter woll ye sech this chace . ya syr If it be a best instrest or in chace and myn houndes passe out oū the boundes And if ye wyl not *that* they chace eny lenger I shall blowe a mote and aftirward I shall strake aft̄ myn houndes for to haue hem a yen.—MSS. Twety.

* Copied by Sir John Hawkins for his reprint of Walton's *Complete Angler.*

† *Sic.*

‡ This edition is repeatedly referred to for Vele's, and also as Toy's. I have not met with any circumstance to found suspicion of there being more than one; a copy wanting the first

"*Imprinted at London in Paules church yarde at the Sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Vele* *."

Printed "Jn Lothbury ouer against St. Margarets Church by Wyllyam Copland. *Herbert*, p. 367. SAME. N. D.

Another "Jn saynt Martyns parish in the Vinetre, vpon the three crane wharfe. *Ib.* † SAME. N. D.

In this year Copland was fined "for a booke of hawkynge huntynge and fysshinge cōtrary to the orders of this howse—iiij^{d}." *Ib.* p. 359. 1561.

title-page, and the two leaves with the measures of blowing, is in the British Museum. A perfect one in possession of John Milner, Esq. purchased from a country bookseller, for 10*l.* and another of George Ellis, Esq. who obtained it at Mr. Mason's sale, at the still larger price of 11*l.* 16*s.* The latter gentleman has obligingly communicated to me the following note, supposed to be written by Mr. Mason :—"This edition was unknown to Mr. Herbert. It is properly Robert Toy's. Toy printed the hawking himself. The hunting was printed for him by W. Copland. So (it should seem) was the fishing; (though the colophon to it says nothing of Toy) because all the three treatises are mentioned in Toy's title-page. The signatures go on regularly through all three. Mr. Herbert, having seen the fishing *alone*, imagined it to be a separate publication of W. Copland's.—It certainly differs in date of *place* from either of Copland's editions of the three treatises together."

Copland, as was not unusual with the early printers, might affix the names of Vele and Toy to a certain number of copies of one edition; and the sheets in gathering (to speak technically) becoming mingled, it requires immediate comparison to identify them as of the same edition. The remarkable mistake of "of of" above noticed, is in Mr Ellis's copy, and abates all doubt in the present instance. What is said of Herbert "having seen the fishing *alone*," is founded on a mistake of that typographer, who noticed in his work, at p. 367, under Copland's name, the tract in Mr. Haworth's possession, which is now properly assigned to W. de Worde. *Ante*, p. 78.

* Though without date the time of printing is nearly ascertained, as per margin; by comparing the time of Vele's commencing business and the removal of Copland from Fleet-street. See *Herbert*, 353, and 772.

† If Herbert gives these notices of residence verbatim, there must have been four distinct editions by this printer.

TAB.
N. D.

¶ The boke of hawkynge huntynge and fysshynge with all the propertyes and medecynes that are necessaryе to be kepte.

This volume is preserved in the Bodleian Library, *Crynes* *, 911. It is printed with the common black letter, in 4to. and is neither paged nor foliated, but possesses

* Of Mr. Crynes and his benefactions no account appears to exist. Nathaniel Crynes was, I have every reason to believe, born in the city of Coventry, and educated in the grammar-school in that place, from whence he was elected a probationary fellow of St. John's

forty-six leaves, or ninety-two pages, and the signatures extend to M iiij *. It begins on the third page (*a* ij.)

College, Oxford; and, after the usual time, admitted actual fellow of that society. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated Dr. Rawlinson, with whom he contracted an intimacy which lasted till his death, and which appears, from the style and subjects of several of his letters to that gentleman, now preserved among Dr. Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian, to have been mutually valued by both parties. The familiarity with which Crynes lived with Dr. R. may, in a great measure, be attributed to the similarity of taste between both these collectors of valuable and curious books, in procuring which they continually assisted each other. In 1712, Mr. Crynes took his degree of M. A.; and about this time, perhaps, he was elected superior beadle in arts, a situation of respectability, and of some profit in the university. A life passed as that of Mr. Crynes was, in the retirement of his study §, or the duties of his office, cannot be expected to afford much matter for a biographer, and accordingly I am unable to discover any particulars respecting himself, or traits of his character. Mr. Warton has accused him of possessing "*more grains of party prejudice than of taste*," (MILTON'S *Poems*,) and relates, that having an opportunity of taking two volumes of Milton's productions, with notes and an original MS. ode by the author, from the "*pretended*" duplicates of the Bodleian, "he could not think any thing worth having that bore the name of the republican Milton:" ¶ but here the valuable historian of English poetry has unjustly arraigned Crynes' taste and judgment, since poetry was not the subject of that gentleman's collections, which consisted chiefly of miscellaneous tracts, and the works of our early historians §§: add to which, I cannot believe that the volumes he alludes to were ever discarded even for a moment. In 1745, Mr. Crynes died, and bequeathed to the Bodleian such of his very curious and valuable library, as this noble collection wanted, the remainder to be deposited at St. John's for the use of the members of that college **, to whom he also left several estates. In the list of benefactions to the Bodleian, is the following entry. "Anno Dni. MDCCXLV. *Nath. Crynes*, A. M. superior Bedellus in facultate Artium, pro solito in humaniores literas studio, librorum suorum, quibus *Biblioth. Bodleiana* non erat instructa partem multó maximam moriens legavit." Ten years previous to this, he had presented the university with seven manuscripts.

* It should be stated that Sign. *j*. contains only two leaves, occasioned by the omission of the measures of blowing. *k*. i. begins the treatise on *fysshynge*.

§ He appears to have possessed little disposition for public fame as a literary character; Dr. Rawlinson had proposed to acknowledge some assistance received from him in referring to the University records, which Crynes declined in the following terms:—" As for naming our names in a publick piece, I dont desire such a compliment, I only stood by, and my honest friend Geo. Cooper transcribed about a hundred names—pray let him have all the honour.) Formerly, Dear Dr. few compliments pass'd between you and me, pray let us not think of ym now: for wthout a compliment I will do you any services I can."

Letter from Mr. Crynes to Dr. Rawlinson. Bodl. MSS. Rawl. Lett. 29.

¶ Todd's Milton, vi. 385.

§§ The following extract affords some proof that his attention was principally directed to this class of literature:—" and if any part of the said forty pounds shall remain after the said presses be made, I will that the same be laid out in the purchase of *English Histories* for the said Library." [St. John's.]

Mr. Crynes's Will *as transcribed by Dr. Rawlinson, and now in the Bodleian.*

** The duplicates rejected by St. John's he directed should be equally divided between Balliol and Lincoln Colleges, each college choosing one book at a time, Balliol having the first choice.

" ☞ The very true fourme in kepynge of hawkes as hath ben vsed in tymes past.

☞ First to speke of hawkes from an egge
tyll they bene able to be taken, &c.
Ends at Sign. *e*. iiij. *rev*.

¶ *Jmprynted at london in Pouls chyrchyarde by me Hery Tab.*
Finis."

☞ *Thus endeth the boke of haukyng.*

Sign: *f*, i. Title

¶ Here begynneth the
boke of huntyng.

over a wood-cut executed in a style unusually rude §: on the next page,

LJkewyse as is in the boke of hauking, &c.

" ¶ *Thus endeth the boke of huntyng.*" (at Sign. *j*, ij. *rev.*) *Jmprinted*, &c. as before.

Sign: *k*, i.

¶ Here begynneth a trea
tyse of fysshynge with an angle.

Wood-cut similar to that given by Hawkins in his edition of Walton's *Angler*: on the second side.

SAlomon in his parables sayth that a good spi-
rite maketh a flouryng age, that is a faire age, &c.

ends *m*. iiij. *rev*. the colophon.

¶ *Here endeth the boke of Haukyng, Huntyng, and fyshyng, with other dyuers mathers.* ¶ *Jmprynted at London in Pouls chyrchyarde by me Hery Tab.*
Finis.

§ The *design* is the same as the one already given from Copland's edition; but from the ground-work it appears, I think, to have been copied from a piece of tapestry. The blocks for our sheet ballads seldom display worse execution.

The boke of hawkynge, huntynge, and fysshynge with all the propertyes and medecynes that are necessarye to be kepte. WALEY. N. D. 1546—86.

[Wood cuts as in Tab's edition.]

In this edition the original reading of Saint Thomas of Canterbury was restored, it was therefore, probably, published during the short reign of Queen Mary.

The signatures, &c. are similar to the one printed for Tab. and on actual comparison will, I expect, be found the same edition. Colophon.

¶ *Imprynted at London in Foster laen, by Johñ Waley.*

Finis.

The booke of haukynge, huntynge, and fyshinge, with all the properties, and medecynes, that are necessary to be kepte. [*Herbert*, 737.] POWELL. 1550.

The boke of haukyng huntynge and fysshyng with all the properties and medecynes that are necessary to be kepte. SAME. N. D. 1547—1567.

Wood cut, rather more than two inches square, of a falcon with a collar: several pieces of metal bordering to fill the page. In the title to the hunting the following representation.

The contents similar to Copland's. At the end:

☞ *Imprynted at London in Fletestrte at the sygne of [the] George next to saynt Dunstone's Church by Wyllyam Powell.*

WOLFE. 1590. A Booke of fishing with Hooke & Line, and of all other instruments thereunto belonging. Another of sundrie Engines and Trappes to take polcats, Buzards, Rattes, Mice and all other kindes of Vermine & Beasts whatsoeuer, most profitable for all Warriners, and such as delight in this kinde of sport and pastime. Made by L. M.

[Wood-cut of an angler at his diversion, and a man placing a trap.]

London. Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde by Edwarde White dwelling at the little North doore of Paules at the signe of the Gunne. 1590. qto.

Three other editions, 1596, 1600, & 1606.

The Editor, Leonard Mascall, is, in this instance, a lurking poacher upon the book of Sir Tristram. He silently adopted the treatise of Angling *, and, having somewhat modernized it, added thereto descriptions, with wood cuts, of the otter wheel, minow gase, eel and otter speares. There is a second title, after p. 50. as "a booke of Engines and traps to take, &c." At the end a folding plate of "the crow net set or bent."

* Upon the subject of the Carp instead of the original, that "there ben but fewe in Englonde, and therefore I wryte the lasse of hym." (sig. i. j.) He says "his baites are not well knowne, for he hath not long beene in this realme. The first bringer of them into England (as I haue beene credibly enformed) was maister Mascoll, of Plumsted in Sussex, who also brought first the planting of the Pippin in England: but now many places are replenished with carpes, both in poundes and riuers, and because not knowing well his cheefe baites in each moneth, I will write the lesse of him."

THE GENTLEMAN'S ACADEMIE; OR, THE BOOKE OF S. ALBANS: LOWNES, 1595.

CONTAINING THREE MOST EXACT AND EXCELLENT BOOKES: THE FIRST OF HAWKING, THE SECOND OF ALL THE PROPER TERMES OF HUNTING, AND THE LAST OF ARMORIE: ALL COMPILED BY IULIANA BARNES, IN THE YERE FROM THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST, 1486. AND NOW REDUCED INTO A BETTER METHOD, BY G. M. LONDON, PRINTED FOR HUMFREY LOWNES, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT HIS SHOP IN PAULES CHURCH-YARD, 1595, 4to.*

THE above initials of G. M. are confidently given to Gervase Markham †, who was the son of Robert Markham, of Cotham, in Nottinghamshire ‡, a descendant of an elder brother of the virtuous judge, Sir John M. Our editor is best known by various works upon horsemanship and agriculture which long continued in good estimation. He also wooed the muse, but could not boast much inspiration from her smiles, and his poetical attempts are only preserved in the libraries of the curious. Having assisted in writing a single play, he became entitled to a niche in the *Biographia Dramatica*, where the material events of his life are recorded. He attempted, on the present occasion, to give an appearance of novelty to the Book of St. Albans, which his publisher might suppose necessary to distinguish it entirely from the recent editions of the selection. Although garbled throughout, perhaps charity may attribute to that circumstance the imposing appearance of copying the original work, although Markham in another instance appears to have had no objection to adopt occasionally the tricks of the press.

He addresses his dedication, "To the Gentlemen of England; and all the good fellowship of Huntsmen and Falconers. Gentlemen, this booke, intreting of Hawking, Hunting, and Armorie, the originall copie of the which was doone at Saint Albans, about what time the excellent Arte of Printing was first brought out of Germany, and practised here in England; which Booke, bicause of the antiquitie of the same, and the things therein contained, being so necessarie and behouefull to the accomplishment of the gentlemen of this flourishing Ile, and others which take delight in either of

* This edition is printed in the Roman type.

† However, we find Markham in another work referring the reader to "old Tristram's booke translated by Mr. Turberuile." *Countrie Contentments*, 1615.

‡ See *Thoroton's Nottinghamshire*, 176. for the Markham pedigree—but Gervase is not there mentioned; but the fact is certain, as he dedicates one of his books to his father, Robert of Cotham. Francis, another younger brother, was also an author. See *Theatr. Poet^m* & *Cens. Lit.* Vol. II. There were two judges, Sir John Markham, the elder, a puisne judge of K. B. and Sir John, his younger son, the Chief Justice, from which last came the Markhams of Sedgebrook.

these noble sports, or in that heroicall and excellent study of Armory, I haue receiued and brought again to light the same which was almost altogether forgotten, and either few or none of the perfect copies thereof remaining, except in their hands, who wel knowing the excellency of the worke, & the rarenesse of the Booke, smothered the same from the world, thereby to inrich themselues in priuate with the knowledge of these delights. Therfore I humbly craue pardon of the precise and iudicial Reader, if sometimes I vse the words of the ancient Authour, in such plaine and homely English, as that time affoorded; not being so regardful, nor tying myself so strictly to deliuer any thing in the proper and peculiar wordes and termes of arte, which for the loue I beare to antiquitie, and to the honest simplicitie of those former times, I obserue as wel beseeming the subiect, & no whit disgracefull to the worke, our tong being not of such puritie then, as at this day the poets of our age haue raised it to; of whom, & in whose behalf I wil say thus much, that our Nation may only thinke herselfe beholding for the glory and exact compendiousnes of our longuage. Thus submitting our Academy to your kind censures and friendly acceptance of the same, and requesting you to reade with indifferency, and correct with iudgement, I commit you to God.

G. M."

The first treatise commences with a head title;—" The maner to speak of hawkes from an egge till they be able to be taken.—To speake of the first original beginning of hawkes, first they be egges, &c." The language is modernized, and its reduction " into a better method," according to the title, appears in this treatise by the placing all the medicines together at the end, in the manner of an unentitled appendix: the division between that and the practical instructions is discovered by the following notice: " Thus endeth the processe or discourse of hawking, and now followeth the most excellentest approued receits and medicines belonging to all manner of diseases and other impediments in hawks whatsoeuer." Ends G iiij, *rev.* Then with new title, the

Treatise of Hunting. London, printed by Vulentine Sims for Humfrey Lownes, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules church-yard. 1595.

This treatise is reduced to prose, commencing with a head title:—" As before in the booke of Hawking is truly noted and set downe the skill appertaining vnto a Falconer or Ostringer: so in the same manner, in this booke is duely and precisely taught the termes belonging to that noble sport of Hunting or Venery." Then follows—" Beasts of Venery. There be onely foure beasts of venery: the Hart, the Hare, the wilde Roe, and the Woolfe; and these and none other by the antient laws of Sir Tristram you may only call Beasts of Venery," &c. The manner in which Markham

formed the genuine work of Juliana Barnes into a "better method," sufficiently vindicates Manwood in treating that and the book of Sir Tristram, as distinct authorities. As an example, the passage in the original of the "Hunting of the Hare," may be selected.

"The termes of a Huntsman to the kennel according to the French, from which they were at first only deriued. When the Huntsman commeth to the kennell in the morning to couple vp his hounds, and shall iubet once, or twice to awake the dogs: opening the kennell doore the huntesman vseth some gentle rating lest in their hasty comming forth they should hurt one an other: to which the French man vseth this worde Arere, Arere, and we sost ho, ho, ho ho; once or twice redoubling the same, coupling them as they came out of the kennell. And being come into the field, and hauing vncoupled, the Frenchman vseth hors de couple auant, auant, onse or twise with soho three times togither: wee vse to iubet once or twice to the dogges crying, a traile, a traile, there dogges there, and the rather to make the dogs in trailing to hold close together, striking vppon some brake, crie so ho! And if the hound haue had rest, and being ouer lustie, doe beginne to fling away, the French men vse to crie, swef ames, swef; redoubling the same, with arere ames, ho: nowe we to the same purpose vse to say, sost ho, heere againe, ho; doubling the same, sometimes calling them backe againe with a iubet or hallow: poynting with your hunting staffe vpon the ground, saying so ho! And if some one of the hounds light vpon a pure scent, so that by the manner of his eager spending you perceiue it is very good, yet shall the same hounds crying, there, now there; and to put the rest of the crie into him, you shal crie, ho auant, auant, list a Talbot, list, list there. To which the French man vseth, Oyes, a Talbot, le vailant, oyes, oyes, troue le coward; in the same manner with little difference. And if you find by your hounds where a hare hath beene at relefe, if it be in the time of greene corne, and if your hounds spend vppon the troile merily and make a goodly crie, then shall the huntsman blow three motes with his horne, which hee may sundry times vse with discretion: when hee seeth the houndes haue made away; a double, and make on towards the seate; now if it be within some field or pasture where the hare hath beene at relefe, let the huntsman cast a ring with his houndes to finde where she hath gone out, which if the hounds light vppon, hee shall crie, there boyes there, that tat, tat, hoe hicke, hicke, hicke auant, list to him list; and if they chance by their brainsicknesse to ouershoote it, he shall call to his hounds, ho againe ho, doubling the same twice. And if vndertaking it againe, and making it good, hee shall cheare his hounds: there, to him there, that's he, that, tat, tat; blowing a mote. And note, that this word soho is generally vsed at the view of any beast of chase or venerie: but indeede the word is properly saho, and not soho, but for the better pronuntiation and fulnes of the

same we say, soho, not saho. Now the hounds running in full chace, the Frenchman vseth to say, ho ho, or swef alieu, douce alieu, and wee imitating them say, there boies, there, auant there, to him there, which termes are in deede deriued from their language."

There is only added a short list as "certaine proper termes belonging to all chace:" ends fo. 38 *.

The Booke of Armorie. London printed by Valentine Sims for Humfrey Lownes, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules church-yard. 1595.

This treatise is given with a new title page, and commences at fo. 41. as, "The Booke of Armorie. The Preface. Here in this booke following is expressed the genealogie of coate-armors and how a perfit Gentleman shall bee knowne from an imperfit clowne; both howe bondage began in angels;" &c. See sig. *e* vj. After the Coat Armour is inserted a new article, as "the title of Barons growne in England by discent to the daughters and heires thereof:" And there should appear some hidden reason for the printing by the conclusion, where after "examples both at home and abroad followeth the particular proofe by matter of record, viz. that the aforesaide custome hath euer taken place in the Baronies of Willoughby and Eresby," &c. The whole occupies seven pages, and is followed by the Blazing of Armes, ending with fo. 95.

Islip. 1596.

HAVVKING, HUNTING, FOULING, AND FISHING,

WITH THE TRUE MEASURES OF BLOWING. A VVORKE RIGHT PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE FOR ALL ESTATES, VVHO SO LOUETH IT TO PRACTISE, AND EXCEEDING DELIGHTFULL, TO REFRESH THE IRKSOMNESSE OF TEDIOUS TIME. WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED, THE MANER AND ORDER IN KEEPING OF HAWKES, THEIR DISEASES AND CURES: AND ALL SUCH SPECIALL POYNTS, AS ANY WISE APPERTAINE TO SO GENTLEMANLIKE QUALITIE. NOW NEWLY COLLECTED BY W. G. FAULKENER, PUBLICUM COMODUM PRIUATO PREFERENDUM. IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY ADAM ISLIP, AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY RICHARD OLIUE. 1596 †.

OF William Gryndall, *Faulkner*, I have not traced any thing beyond the present work, which he inscribes—"To the Courteous and friendly Readers, the Author hereof

* Folios 39 and 40 are blank leaves.

† The title only in roman, the remainder in b. l.

wisheth their good acceptation of his paines. I am not ignorant (Gentlemen) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that which should please and satisfie all persons, wee being commonly of so diuers opinions, and contrary iudgements. Againe, Tully affirmeth it to bee a very difficult thing to find out any matter, which in his owne kind may be in all respects perfect: wherefore I trust, of your owne iudgements I ought the rather to be pardoned, in that I seeke to please many with the varietie of matter: the Discourses being fower in number: Hawking, Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing: being so briefly set downe, for the recreation of tedious time, and especially for all those that take pleasure or delight therein: which if it please you to accept my good will, you shall not only incourage me to amend that's amisse, but also hereafter present you with such matter, as shall better counteruaile your courtesies, and saue mine owne credit. Thus being loth to bee ouerlong in so briefe a matter, I commend you to the protection of the celestiall powers, and this to your friendly acceptation. —Yours in all humilitie,

William Gryndall, *Faulkner.*"

A iij. After the head title, commences, "To intreat first of Hawkes from their beginnings being Egges," &c. concludes *E* ij, *reverse.* The Book of Hunting contains the beasts of venery and chase; age of an Hart, beuy of Rowes; and sounder of Swine, in prose. There are several omissions and abbreviations, as well in the Hawking as the Hunting, and in the last, the numbers of "Dame Julyan Barnes" are varied throughout. The following specimen may serve to compare with those already given from Markham, and the Master of the Game.

"Now to speake of the Hare, how all shall be wrought,
When that she hath with Hounds bin sought:
The first word that the Hunter to the Houndes pit,
Is at the kenell dore when he openeth it,
That all may him heare, he shall say arere;
For els his Houndes will come to hastelie,
And this is the first word of Venerie.
And when he hath coupled his Hounds each one,
And that forth into the field he is gone:
And when he hath cast off his couples at will,
Then shall he speake and say them vntill *;
Hors de couple auaunt, se auaunt, twise so,
And then so ho, so ho, thrise and no mo.

* Vntill is here used in the sense of unto.

And then say sacy auaunt, so ho, I thee pray.
And if you see your Hounds haue good will to rene,
And draw away from you, say as I you learne :
Here ho againe them call so,
Then swefe mon amy, swefe to make them soft tho.
And if any find that the Hare there doth goe,
And he a hight Richard or beamond, crie so.
And if ye see that the Hare a pasture hath beene,
If it be in the time of the Corne that is greene ;
And if your Hounds chase well at your will,
Then you shall blow three notes loud and shrill.
And anie Hound find her musing on her mace,
Where as she hath ben and is gone from that place;
Hasitouz cyeftile, so shall ye say,
Veny arere, so ho, say as lowd as you may.
All maner of Beasts whatsoeuer chased bee,
Haue one maner of word, so ho, I tell thee :
To fulfill or vnfill all maner of chase,
The Hunter in his mouth that word hase.
And if your Hounds chase at Hart or Hare,
And they ren at default, thus ye shall them fare :
Ico so how, assayne, assayne, stow ho ho,
Say astayne arere, so ho, these words and no mo.
And if your Hound run well at the Fox or Doe,
And so faile at defaute, say further ere ye goe,
Ho ho, sweffe aluy, douce aluy, that they here
Ho hoy, assayne, sa arere.
So ho, so ho, venes a coupler, and doe as I ken,
The more credite may you haue among all men.
Your art let not be hid, and do as I you bid,
All my friends that be,
This game may know of me.

The " explicit" is omitted. There are only retained the Beasts of Chase, Names of Hounds, Properties of a Greyhound, and the proper terms of beasts and fowls, &c. Then follows the true and perfect measure of blowing, which ends reverse G. iiij. With H j. a new title page.

"*A breife Treatis of Fowling. Wherein is contained diuers proper deuises both of Bayts and others, with the making of Byrdlime, the maner and order of vsing it on your Limerods: with many other speciall points appertaining to that Exercise.*"

This treatise, now first added to the book of Sir Tristram, is the greater portion copied *verbatim*, without acknowledgment, from *Batman vppon Bartholome his booke de proprietatibus rerum*: printed for East, 1582, and forms the introduction to the twelfth book "de avibus in general." It ends with I ij. *rev.* and then another title page.

"*A briefe Treatis of Fishing, with the art of Angling. Wherein is contained the perfect making of all maner of Implements appertaining to that exercise: the diuers and seuerall baytes for euery Kind of Fish, with the best times of the yeare for the taking of them.*"

In this treatise there is an extraordinary variation. After a repetition of the last title at the head, it commences. "As the wise man saith, a good spirit maketh a merie and flourishing age, and causeth a man to liue long: and truly in my opinion, these three thinges are a medesine, and a preseruation for the same. The first of them is, a merry thought. The second is, labour not outragious. The third is, diet measurable. The first, if a man will euermore bee in a merry thought, and haue a glad spirit, hee must eschewe all contrarious companie, and all places of debate, where hee may haue anie occasion of melancholie, and he must eschewe all places of Ryot, which is occasion of surfit and sicknesse, and hee must drawe him to places of sweete ayre, and eate nourishing meates and delectable. As nowe I meane to descriue these disportes and games, to finde the best of them as truely as I could, and *although the right noble and worthie Duke of Yorke, late maister of the game, hath described this arte of Fishing*, and the rest of these pleasures and disportes. For hunting in myne opinion," &c. The assertion respecting the Duke of York stands unconfirmed.

"Hawking, Hunting, and Fishing, with the true Measures of Blowing. Newly corrected and amanded.

[*A spirited wood-cut of a Falconer going forth to his diversion with his hawk on his fist, and some birds sitting on a distant cross bar and in flight.*] ALDE. 1596.

LONDON PRINTED FOR EDW. ALDE, 1596. *4to.*"

This is the last reprint of the selection forming the book of Sir Tristram *.

* The following information was obtained from Mr. Hill, of Queenhith, but too late for insertion in its proper place. He possessed a copy, entituled

The booke of haukyng, huntyng, and fyshyng with all the properties and

HELME. 1614. A Jewell for Gentrie. Being an exact Dictionary, or true Method, to make any Man vnderstand all the Art, Secrets, and worthy Knowledges belonging to Hawking, Hunting, Fowling and Fishing. Together with all the true Measures for Winding of the Horne. Now newly published, and beautified with all the rarest experiments that are knowne or practised at this Day.

[Wood-cut the same as is used in Turbervile's Treatise upon Falconry, p. 362.]

Printed at London for Iohn Helme, and are to be sold at his shop in St. Dunstanes Church-yard, in Fleet-street, 1614. *4to.* *.

The initials appended to the dedication, T. S. remain unapplied. For the "beautifying" in the title, and after declaration that the defects, which "were so gross that Tristram himself would hardly have known so near a kinsman," were "for the world's general satisfaction," reduced "truly to the natural beauty of his own parents;" it remains only to observe that this modest editor's authorities do not appear to extend beyond the trite attempt at a "better method," by Markham, and the "newly collected" labours of Gryndall. It is dedicated "To the right worshipfull Mr. John Tooke, one of the Auditors of his Maiesties Courts of Wards and Liueries. Syr, Bookes that in times past were accounted the noblest tributes which could come to the hands of vertue, are now either in themselues so disfigured, or by ignorance so sleightly esteemed, that goodnesse is halfe afraid to appeare before great men; yet I that know the measure of your temper, euer readie to adorne any shadow of modest and good proportion, am bold, out of my best loue, to solicite you with this presentment, in which is matter worthy your eare, being, indeed, those absolute parts of musicke which make perfect the harmony of a true gentleman. I doe not offer it as a disturber of your more serious meditations, but as an attendant, to wait the leasure of those good houres, when you shall vnbend your minde from the troubles of grauer busines, then to recreate and erect your spirits with the exercises of these wholesome and well-allowed pleasures. I need not runne into any glosse or commendations of their natures, since the vse and allowance thereof (being seldome or neuer accompanied without vertue) are Letters patents of such strength as no malice, or strictnesse of life can infrindge

medecynes that are necessary to be kept. [Wood-cut.] Colophon, Imprynted at London in Fletestreate, at the sygne of the Rose Garlande, by William Toplande: for Rychard Tottell. n. d.

This appears similar to the edition with the name of Toy. See p. 84.

* This tract is in black letter, except title and introduction.

or make of less value then an ample goodnesse. What euer they are, yours they now are, and with them my selfe euer to be disposed by you.

Your worship's euer at command,

T. S.

"To the Reader. This collection (gentle reader) howeuer in former impressions dismembred and rob'd of his best lynaments by an vnskilfull Register, or a more ignorant workeman (both being farre to seeke in the Arts, and in the antiquitie of the phrase) was notwithstanding in its first birth the childe of the most excellentest father that euer begot, in memory, any worke of this nature, and was for the glory thereof the first booke that euer was printed in this kingdome, as may appeare by the record of Bookes then printed at Saint Albons. Now for as much as the defects were so grosse that Trestram himself would hardly haue knowne so neare a kinsman, I haue for the world's generall satisfaction reduc't it so truely to the naturall beautie of his owne parents, that not the seuerest, but with much content would willingly imbrace it. And whereas the alterations and begettings of times haue brought forth many notable and famous experiments, vnknowne or assayed by our first ancestors, I haue also gathered them together, and so made to their excellent grounds, the rare distance of latter wits, that the most curious shall not neede to seeke further for any necessary knowledge in any of these seuerall recreations: for hee shall learne heereby both absolutely to doe and speake whatsoeuer beseemes the person of such a professor: Therefore as it hath beene gathered with care, imbrace it with loue, and I will wish thee that I would haue heauen giue mee; The name of a good man."

Hawking concludes F 2, and Hunting commences on the reverse. It is given in prose, and appears to have been taken from Markham's edition, with arbitrary variations by the editor. The measures of blowing, with the treatise of Fowling, having a distinct title, are given from Gryndall. Ends N. ij.

A Briefe Treatise of Fishing: with the Art of Angling. Wherein, &c. (ut supra.) *London. Printed for Iohn Helme, and are to be sould at his shop in Saint Dunstane's Church-yard, in Fleet-street.* 1614.

In this treatise Gryndal is also followed with no material variation, except by introducing some account of draught-fishing, with a description of the nets in general use, which may not be too inconsequential to preserve here. It occurs in continuation of the sentence, "and to the content of all those that haue delight in these exercises, I haue collected this treatise following, which you may vse at your pleasure. But yet before I proceede to this art of Angling, I will speake something of the vse of nets, and how fish are to be caught therewith, for as Angling is for pleasure and delight, so this is for profit and vse for the Common-wealth, furnishing markets and families, with such pro-

uisions as are necessary for the foode and sustenance of man. And of nets you shall vnderstand there be diuers kindes, as the great draught net, the flewe net, the shooue net, the pursse net, and the leape net, of all which I will giue you a little short taste or assay, yet such as shall be large inough for your vnderstanding and benefit: and first of the draught net.

The vse of the Draught Net.

The draught net of all other is the largest, for it is for riuers, ponds or large waters: some are thirty fadomes, some twentie, some fifteene, and some tenne: it is made of the strongest packthread, with a very small and narrow mash, in the midst it draweth strayter and strayter downe, like a pursse of a fadome and a halfe long, and gathered together exceeding close in the last end, at which must be fastned some heauy stone, or other poysse which may make it sinke to the bottome; it must be in breadths a fadome and a halfe, or better, which is the depth of any ordinary pond or riuer, the neather side must be all plummed with leade very thicke, to make it sinke, and the vpper side must be full of floates, made of light sallow, such as will not sinke: at the two outmost ends, you must haue two strong poles, full as long as the net is deepe, to whose ends you must stretch the ends of the net, and then casting it into the pond or riuer, by strong cords which must be fastned to each end of the net, see you deuide the net to each side of the pond or riuer, drawing it with great leasure and constancie, being sure that you neither pull the leads from the ground, nor suffer the floats to sinke vnder the water, then you shall haue diuers men with long poles or staues, that shall goe on each side of the riuer before the net, and beat vp the fish, leauing none in any holes, sedges, bushes, or such like, but driuing them into the midst of the water: then being come to the end of the pond, or to the best landing-place of the riuer, those with the poysse beating the water, that the fish may not passe by theym, he on the contrarie side, shall bring ouer his lines, and bring the two net poles close together, then casting the floate aside from you, and drawing the plummed side to you, you shall stoope downe and close by the ground, leasurely draw in the plumed side of the net, another likewise with more leasure drawing in the floats after you: then be assured, that what fish soeuer was within the compasse of your drawght, you shall find it in the rod of your net, which as soone as you haue taken out, and clenced your nets, well and sufficiently, you may then if you please, cast it in againe: and thus you may fish downe any riuer as many miles as you please, or haue libertie so to doe, or else you may draw as many ponds as are to your liking.

Of the Flewe Net, and of his vse.

This flewe net is a net of some two fadome and a halfe in length, and one fadome in depth, made of a verie straight mash, and with a long rod in the midst, the neather side

plummed, & the vpper side floated: it is most proper for small brokes or little rundles, and the manner to fish with it, is in this sort. You must first haue a stop net, which is a plaine net, without any rod, onely plummed, floated and polde at both ends, and this putting into the brooke, make it fast to each side of the banke, then goe downe the riuer from it some threescore or fourescore yards, and there cast in your flewe, then make it likewise fast to each side of the banke, so as you may be sure that the plummets are at the bottome, and there be a good place for the landing of your net; then take your poysse, and goe to your stoppe net, and there begin to beate, and so continue beating downe, till you come close to your flew, then whilst one beateth still, let the other on the contrary side let loose the flewe, and throwing the cords ouer vnto you, draw the flewe leasurely in, and land it as you did your draught net, and looke what fish was within the compasse of water, you shall finde it in the rod of your flewe net, then taking vp your stoppe net, put it in where you tooke vp your flew, and so fish forward, and thus you may doe the whole length of a brooke if you haue time and leasure.

Of the Shooue-net, or Pursse-net.

The shooue-net and pursse-net, are much what of one shape and making, being of a small compasse, made round, and fastned to a great bow of wood set to a long pole, they haue long rowes going from the bowe, which like a pursse, are gathered together in the neather end, the vse of fishing with them, is most commonly in pits, blinde dikes, or other small standing waters, into which much fish is got by reason of inundations and ouerflowes of water. If therefore, in any such pit you shall take your shooue-net, and thrusting it downe to the bottome before the fish, you shall with your poy goe behinde him and beate the water, and as soone as you see him shut, you shall ierke vp your net, and be sure to finde the fish in the rod thereof: if you drawe your shoue-net along any dike to the end which is stopt, or if there be no end stopt, then to some other person who standeth a pretie way from you beating the water with a poy, be sure all the fish within that compasse wil be in the rod of your net: This is a good instrument for the poore man, and oft getteth him foode when he wants it.

Of the Leape-net.

The leape net is a square long net set out with wood, hauing in it many rods or purses, which are distinguisht from the outward net with round hoopes of wood, it is most commonly fastned to a leape, and laid in mill-dams, or in straight waters, after any fall of great rayne, which maketh a white water: it is most proper for the taking of eeles, but because it is to lye still all the night, or all the day, and thereby hath in it small exercise or practise, I thinke it not meete to trouble your memory much therewith, but now to returne, and pursue my discourse in laud of the excellent Art of Angling. If you will," &c.

CADELL, N. D.

HERALDIC MISCELLANIES:

CONSISTING OF THE LIVES OF SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE, GARTER, AND GREGORY KING, ESQ. WINDSOR HERALD. WRITTEN BY THEMSELVES. WITH AN EXACT COPY OF THE THIRD PART OF "THE BOOK OF ST. ALBANS," FIRST PRINTED IN 1486. LONDON, PRINTED FOR T. CADELL IN THE STRAND, AND SOLD BY ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS. N. D.

THIS piece of a volume *, by its title professedly attracts the attention, to expect "an exact copy of the third part of *The Boke of St. Albans*," but it would be endless to point out all the inattentive omissions, and typographical variations. Suffice, at p. 69. after the words "prynce of cote armure," there is an omission of one whole page and six lines, forming the conclusion of signature *a* ij A, the whole of *a* ij B, and beginning of *a* iij, in the St. Albans edition. That leaf is in the Oxford copy, from which the transcript was made. At page 75, the following strange variation occurs. "A laped cootarmure is calde the coot of a gentylwoman hauyng lyuelode weddyd to a man hauyng noo cootarmure. her sone may were his [*hir*] cootarmur with a differance of armys duryng his liue by the curtesy of law of armys. and his sone shall none bere, bot so be that the gentylwoman be heyr or next of blode to that cootarmure. Or ellis beyng his [*hir*] byrth of the blode Royall and than shall his [*hir*] heyre bere his [*hir*] cootarmure." By this blunder † the son provides that which the text more properly gives by maternal descent! But too commonly heraldic writers manage the principles of the art after an arbitrary fashion.

In the conclusion of this division, some information relative to the value of the early copies may possibly be expected. Such communications have become too general within these few years, and the fluctuating decision of the hammer has afforded an opportunity to affix a fanciful value to the productions of early writers, without reference to the subject, or whether deriving support from merit or popularity. This evil checks the ardour of the liberal collector, and too commonly circumscribes possession to the selfishness of opulence. Who will hereafter expect to possess the first edition of "the Boke of St. Albans?" it is true, in West's sale,

* It is only an attempt to vend a few copies of the Appendix to *Inquiries into the origin and progress of the Science of Heraldry in England; by James Dallaway, A. M. of Trin. Coll. Oxford and F. S. A.* Gloucester, 1793. There was the above title prefixed, with the pagination altered from Roman capitals to Arabick numerals.

† Or rather nonsense is made by a contradiction of the parts.

in 1773, the fortunate buyer had it for 13*l.*; at Ratcliffe's, in 1776, it was purchased for only 9*l.* 12*s.*; yet, when Mason's books were disposed of in April, 1799, Lord Spencer was a contented purchaser at 70*l.*—Not quite so extravagant the progress of De Worde's labours, witness a copy in possession of the Marquis of Blandford, which has "e libris Rad. Thoresby Leodiensis, pr. 1*s.* 6*d.* An°. 1717." Then Richard Rawlinson's sale (1756,) 1*l.* 1*s.*—Honest Tom Martin's (1773) 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* M. C. Tutet's, (1786,) 2*l.* 9*s.*: while, for a copy (wanting some leaves) purchased to assist in the present reprint, no less than seven guineas was paid. What a perfect one would now produce is uncertain. The highest price of the selection is already mentioned *, of which that of Grindall's was probably, when published, of no larger value than the copy before me expresses in an old manuscript note, viz. 12*d.*; and if any subsequent to De Worde's edition were now duly appreciated, forty shillings might be deemed a fair and sufficient value; while wealth however, can be gratified, even the humble and less valuable attempt of Markham, may continue to support its apparent equilibrium of five pounds.

FAREWELL "Dame Julyans Barnes," and the "one sumtyme schole mayster of Seynt Albons," I here take leave. Eighteen months have nearly elapsed since the reprint of De Worde's volume was completed; when I undertook, as already stated, to collect materials for this introduction. The delay has been unwillingly caused by the numerous difficulties that retarded the course of such enquiries.

In pursuing this object, the many interesting traits that occurred in our early writers on the once popular diversion of Hawking, suggested a bibliographical selection as best adapted to convey an outline of that obsolete amusement; and though much may yet remain ungleaned, yet the reader will perhaps find sufficient novelty of information, to judge with indulgence of the present imperfect attempt. Of Hunting, the subject had found too many encomiasts, was too diversified in its subject, and too generally known and followed, to admit a summary of its history, which would be worthy notice. Some passages from the inferior editions are preserved for critical inspection: and of the treatise upon Angling, all the variations and additions, that could be met with, are collected. The heraldic notices are only incidental.

* Note, p. 84.

However zealous were my wishes to comply with the solicitations of my friends in furnishing preliminary matter, I should early have shrunk from the undertaking, had not Mr. Haworth of Chancery-lane, obliged me with the loan of his truly singular collection of the copies of the book of Sir Tristram already described, and had not other amicable assistances concurred. These quickened my desire of research, and gave energy to a pursuit that might otherwise have languished into dereliction, from the slight expectation of final success. For the interesting communications from Oxford, my acknowledgments are due to Mr. P. Bliss, of St. John's College. The assistance of Mr. H. Ellis accelerated my researches at the British Museum; and the wood-cuts, from the tracings of Mr. Alexander, add, by their spirit and fidelity, an encreased value to the preceding pages. I availed myself of a perusal of the sheets by Sir Egerton Brydges, and also by Mr. Park; and their suggestions, as well as those of some other literary friends, proved useful and important. It only remains for me to notice, that the present edition is limited to one hundred and fifty copies; and to observe, that the typographical execution of the volume, possesses a well-founded claim to honourable distinction, among the choicest specimens of printing which have issued from the modern press.

Conduit-street,
30th Oct. 1811.

JOSEPH HASLEWOOD.